

(4) *or*

T H E  
E N G L I S H  
B A L L A N C E,

Weighing the Reasons, of  
*Englands* pretent conjunction with  
*France*, against the *Dutch*.

*With some Observes upon his Majesties Decla-  
ration, of Liberty to Tender Consciences.*

PROV. 20: V. 18.

Every Purpose is established by Counsel, and with good advice make War.

PROV. 24: V. 6.

For by wise Counsel thou shalt make thy War, and in multitude of  
Counsellours, there is safety.

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Printed in the Year MDCLXXII.

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T H E  
ENGLISH BALLANCE

Weighing the reasons of *Englands* present  
Conjunction with *France* against the *Dutch*.

*With some* Observes upon his Majesties Decla-  
ration, of liberty to Tender Consciences.

**T**HE present aspect of affairs, being obviously such, as not onely amuseth all, but really concerneth the greatest part of the Christian World, and my own proper interest (not more from pure incapacity, then, real choice and inclination) being most precisely confined, to that of religion, and reason, I presume, that if by a few sober reflexions, I break that common silence of my Nation (which seems to proceed rather from a deep amazement, then any other consideration) I shall not therefore incur the censure of singularity; but if the fate of truth, shall neverthelesse expose me to the hatred of any, all I wish them. is, as little prejudice from their mistake, as I intend of particular advantage by the following representation.

The subject then that moves me to this undertaking, is, briefly, the allarume of war, that soundeth every where, the tendency of the French-Armes, against the united Netherlands, and the apparent conjunction of the King of England, with the French, in this their invasion.

What may be the pretences of the French, just or unjust, since conjecture (of all things most dareing) hath not hitherto adventured upon the discovery, it were in vaine for me to attempt the research: It is known, that the Estats most interested,

did addresse their inquirie unto the French King, who certainly knoweth best, and that upon the fairest account, viz. all just and reasonable satisfaction, and yet, had no other returne, save a slender notice, of their acknowledgement of the favours received from his Antcestors, with a structure, upon their omission of his owne good deeds (no doubt the dividing of the English Fleet by Beauforts imaginary assistance) and then, a hint at late innovations in trade, visibly declining reason, by ane insinuat reference, to a neutral arbitration, without so much as a condescendence upon the subject, notwithstanding of the satisfaction offered; concluding, with a scrupulous formalizing at the Estats desire, to be cleared, about their evidently well grounded apprehensions, of his Majesties extraordinary preparations, as if it were boorish incivility, to demand reason abroad, from a Prince that makes his will to satisfy at home; so that the King of France his tendernesse to abuse truth, and unwillingnesse to derogat from the confidence of his great power, by searching after a colourable pretext, where there is none to be found, appears to be the most favourable account, that his procedour will admit of: It's true, the advance of his Romish superstition doth occurre, as a very probable incentive, but, as both justice doth repugne, and Policy dissuade from declaring it to be the cause, of this apprehended war; so, I confesse the manifest decay, and neglect of religion, every where, this day in the earth, with his Majesties notour addiction to his passions, and interests above all other engagements, do rather incline me to think, that it is the insolent Tyranny of these imperious Lusts, pride and avarice, that doth thus derobe a great Prince, of his solid glories, and pleasures, and in lieu thereof, with pain and hazard to himself, and injury to his neighbours, render him a slave to the motions of his insatiable appetit: But, though the candor I am resolved to use in this Discourse, doth make me thus figure to my self, the French King's incitements, yet, I am very far from thinking, that the matter of religion is no more interested in this war, then intended: To knit the consequences

ces of war, and victory, either to the declared causes, or influencing reasons of the undertakers, is, an error, that both reason and the experience of all ages doth abundantly disprove; but why should I here make any profusion of reason, where common sense may be so convictive? Can Popish Armes prevail, and not establish Popish superstition? Can this Popish superstition have power, and not both prosper and persecute? These are consequences so natural, and evident, that it were superfluous, either to challenge one instance dissonant, from the thousands, that confirme them, or to reminde what, and how successfully, the present French King hath (what by force, and what by policy) practised, in his own dominions: or lastly, to adde, that as the genius of Popery, hath ever been most bent, to seek to reenter where it hath been ejected; so it cannot but in this invasion be animar, by a great accession of vigour, in the hope, thereby to triumph in the conquest of the main fort, and bulwarke of the Protestant interest: And verily these things are of themselves so obvious, that I almost blame their conduct, (if onely designed for clearing of this point) who of late have caused Print, a Letter to the Estats, from their Resident in Vienna, acquainting them with the King of France his intentions, as by him communicat to the Elector of Mentz, viz. to daunt on the pride of the Estats General, and compel them to the restitution of Ecclesiastick Lands, and goods, and that assurance hereof, is long since given to the Pope; As if the manifest hazard of the Protestant Religion, from the French Armes, and their approaches, and its infallible prejudice in their successe, not onely as to this restitution, but the subversion of its truth and purity, did need the accession of such a conjectural proof? But it is indeed to be regrated, that such at present, should be the regardlesse indifferency, in the matter of religion, of the neighbouring Protestant Princes and Estats, that neither the undeniable evidences of all appearances, nor all the arguments whereby they may be seconded, seem sufficient, to awake them, from this dangerous slumber: The time was, when religion, as the

most precious concerne, was also, the most endearing bond, of mutual alliance; so that whereever it happened to be attacked, neither distance, nor separation of other interests, did exempt, or excuse, from the common defence; But men have long since, both in their hearts, and lives, cast it downe, from its excellency, and if there it hath lost its power, and influence, no wonder, that it be little operative on publick transactions: Whether for this cause, the Lord be now arisen to contend, first, with these united Provinces, and thereafter with all the Churches, is no doubt a question, which every man hath reason to move with trembling; my hearts desire is, that as God by his dispensations, is threatening to punish, aswel by the lose of temporalities, sinfully overvalued, and abused, as by the removeal of his Gospel, unworthily undervalued, and dispised; so, his people may thence be warned, and instructed above all things, to seek his face, and peace, and thereby to engage him, to stand on their side, both on his own, and their behalfe, then shall the Lord who waits to be gracious, exalt himself, that he may have mercy upon them, and joine his judgement to the justice of their cause, to scatter the proud & put downe the mighty, that men may see and say, *Surely there is a God that judgeth righteously in the earth.*

But is it possible that matters standing thus, betwixt the French and Dutch, and religion being so much concerned, in the event, the King of England should incline, to take part with the French, so manifestly contrair to righteousness and religion, yea to his faith, honour, and interest? And really all these (the maine, if not the onely determinations among rational men) doe so directly oppose, and dissuade this strange resolution, that, I sincerely professe, it is only from the surprize, and distrust of my reason, and not in the least from any purpose, to amaze men into my sentiments, that my wonder doth expresse itself, in this interrogation; which, if any man doe still judge, to be an anticipation; let him only forebeare what he censures; and I hope, he shall be quickly satisfied.

That

That I may therefore proceed clearly in this odd rancountre of affairs: Although I doe heartily wish, that my supposition may never exist; yet, seing it is the ground of the ensuing discourse, he who doubts its probability, may consider the following passages. First, the King of England his refusal upon the Estais their just and reasonable demand, to give assurance for the performing of his part of the Triple Alliance. Next, the known ordinary discourse of his court, pretending high provocations. 3. Sir George Downing, his late Embassie, with the unusefull reserve by him practised, in the exposing of his demands, his sudden recall, and his refusing to receive the Stats their answer, unto the memoire he had given in, about the stage 4. the straine of his Majesties returne to this answer, when thereafter presented to him, whereby he plainly intimats his displeasure thereat, signifying that though he be willing to observe the Triple Alliance, yet he doth not judge himself thereby obliged, to suffer them to doe what they please, to his prejudice, nor to wrong their neighbours, in the matter of trade: asserting peremptorily, his soveraignty in the seas, and withal, demanding their positive answer, whether they will punish Van Gent for his not striking to his Flag: And lastly the extraordinary correspondence entertained, betwixt the Courts of England, and France, with their late Treaty: the severall millions of money it hath brought from France to England, & the designed expedition of the Duke of Monmouth, with some thousands of Auxiliaries, into the french Campagne; which passages being joined to the great and fervid sea preparations, wherein England is now buisied, doe in my opinion, sufficiently resolve, that the Dutch are the marke whereat they are levelled, whether justly or unjustly comes next to be handled? And certainly, if they have no other motive or end, then the french assistance, whatever injustice may be, in their causelesse invasion, or whatever detriment Religion may suffer by their successe, doe fall upon the King of England, as an assistant, with higher aggravations, then can be fairly named, before that I doe first propose, and

and examine, the proper provocations, that he pretends: That, therefore reason and truth, may have their full exercise, and right, my endeavour shall be, to give an impartial and sincere, account of all, that fame or report hath hitherto communicated on this subject.

That the King of England hath of a long time acclaimed, the sovereignty of the British seas, and therein also been universally acknowledged, by the formality of striking, is not our over all: and, as it is not my duty, willfully to diminish or impugn the former, so, the latter is expressly agreed to, by the Dutch, in the last treaty of peace: But the difference at present, arising from this head, seems to be twofold, the first in matter of fact, viz. that the King of England accuseth the Dutch, of an injurious affront, both against his right, and the late treaty, in as much as their fleet, under Van Gent's conduct, did of late, refuse to strike sail, to one of his Jachts, bearing his flag. To which the Dutch answer, that the Kings right being drawn unto the Treaty, for its better confirmation, it must thence take all its measures, and it being thereby only provided, that all dutch ships, shall strike to the King's men of war, in the British seas, as the cleare termes of the Treaty in the 19 Art: thereof, and the quality of the Jacht, being onely a pleasure boat, and no man of war, doe furnish a defence for what is past; so, by their answer above mentioned to Sir George Downings memoire, they offer, that if his Maj. will observe the Triple Alliance, they will still agree, that all dutch ships shall strike to his Ships of war; but the King not herewith satisfied, desires the Estates, to be positive, whether or not they will inflict punishment on Van Gent? as we have heard: The other branch of this difference toucheth the point of right, the King of England asserting peremptorily, in his above mentioned answer to the Estates, his dominion, and sovereignty over the narrow seas, and the Dutches, hitherto silently forbearing, either to debate, or consent to the claime: The next ground of provocation discoursed of, in the King of Englands court (for as yet it hath



hath proceeded no further) is the making & publishing amongst the Dutch of certain scandalous pictures, and pamphlets, to the King's dishonour, whereof some, at least one, viz. the picture dedicat, and affixed by the towne of Dorr\*, in the Stadt-houfe, to the honour of Cornelius de Wit, in memorie of his attaque at Chattam, bearing the draught of the thing, with certain Lines of Elogy subjoined, (all no doubt contrived with the lustre of advantages sutable to the designe) licensed by authority, and the rest onely of privat authors, but publickely permitted, and of this kinde (as is reported at court) a pourtrait of the King of England, surrounded by some ladies of pleasure, buſſied in picking his pockets, is most noticed, and talked of: the third pretense for war, intimar by the King of England's last answer, above spoken of, wherein he saith, that though he be willing to stand to the Triple Alliance; yet, he is not thereby obliged, to suffer, either things prejudicial to his own honour. or them, to doe what injuries to their neighbours in matter of trade, that they think fit; which last passage, is no doubt to be understood of the same innovations in trade, complained upon, by the King of France, his letter, as we have said: but what these are, is alike obscure in both, and remain's yet to be explained.

This being the summe of what I have learned, of the King of England's provocation: Their import, and merit, is in the next place to be weighed: To discourse then first the alledged incivility of Van Ghent; I know, it would be thought ridiculous, for me to endeavour, to accommodat this mistake, by these Gospel rules of simplicity, meeknesse, and divine goodnesse, to offer to square the actings of Princes, and Stats, in such emergents, by that deference, *forbearance*, and readinesse to pardon, held forth; in its high and heavenly precepts, in prejudice of their grosse, and vain politicks, would be in the construction of these delicat Spirits, and refined witts, (which deceive themselves and others, to the foolish admiration, and esteeme of things of no moment,) to trample upon the tender poin tof honour, and dissolve the noble frame of interest: neither shall I at this time fur-

therurge, the difference pretended by the Dutch, betwixt a man of war and a yacht; impartialitie must certainly graunt, that the refusing to strike to this vessel, (if in the Brittish seas) which ten yeers agoe the Dutch had not scrupled to honour as a man of war, and not much above a hundred yeers, might possibly have served for their Admiral, could onely have flowed from their late successe, and elevation, but as it is abundantly evident, that, nothing save a fatal misfortune, could engage either party, to forme a quarrel upon this only occasion, and that without the influence, of far different considerations, the King of England would not therein, have shewed himself so uneasie; so, it must be acknowledged, that in so light an offence, not desitut, at least of a colourable excuse, the Dutch their offer of good performance, for the time to come, is as much as in reason, can be expected: the next point that occurs, is, the King of England's soveraignty, over the Brittish seas, whereof at present he appears to be very jealous, and questionlesse if his Majesty doe not content himself, with the formality of striking, as his sole prerogative, but holds it only for a marke of due recognisance, asserting withal, his soveraignty indefinitely, as to all effects, that such a title may import: it's value, doth not more deserve his jealousy, then it's consequences may justly, excite all, to inquire into his pretenses. I shall not here table the debate, *an mare sit liberum an clausum*, the reasons of those learned men, who have managed it, pro and con: doe, in my opinion, very happily compose it, in this reconciliation: that, as the nature, and end of the seas, doe plainly appeare, incapable of dominion, so, in as far as they are destined, and doe serve, for common use, the expresse or presumptive consent of one people, may qualify, restrict, or renounce the same, in favours of another; and, thus we see, that wherever dominion over particular seas, are acclaimed, their effects are not onely precisely limited, but almost every where different, so, to one is given thereby the sole benefit of fishing, to another a certain tribut, to a third the power of jurisdiction, and so forth to every



every one, as restrictedly to the condition of his right, as to its respective bounds; either of which, if the owner should happen to transgresse, his dominion would be in so far, reput, an insignificant plea; so that this maritime dominion, not being of the nature of terrene propriety, of it self absolute, unto all intents. (unlesse diminished by law or the owners concession) but meerly, a certain priviledge, or servitude, established by consent, in that which of it self, is, as the air, reserved for common use, it's evident, that the consent, and possession, which constitut the right, doe in like manner define it's extent: And that upon the pretext of some particularities conceded, to arrogat an unlimited soveralgnity, would, both in reason, and in the event, prove an insupportable usurpation. Hence it is, that for all England's glorieing, in this, our dignity, and for all the power, (wherewith no doubt, we both did acquire, and doe continue it) yet, it hath not to this day, been further recognosced, even in the Channel, (it's principal seat and subject, and where it hath alwayes affected it's maine Paradi: for as to the other british seas, which are onely, the neereest circumambient parts of the wide Ocean, the Law of nations doth onely attribut to England its common priviledge) then by the bare ceremony of the first salute; neither in the last Treaty, wherein the King of England was greatly concerned, and no lesse solicitous to cleare this title, was there any thing else agreed unto, as I have already marked; and without all peradventure, if his Majesty in the conceit of his dominion, should once offer to exert it, though but in very ordinary effects, such as the assuming of jurisdiction, or imposing of tribute, whereof the Sound and Adriatick do exhibit cleare precedents; he would soone be made to understand his error, not onely by the reclaiming dissent, but also, by the vigorous opposition of all his neighbours: I might insist to disprove this pretense of an indefinit dominion, from the far more rational judgement, of the ancient Romans, who not only reckoned the sea with the air, *Inter ea quæ sunt nullius*; but, though by reason of the encircling of their vast Empire, they might have

acclaimed, even the whole Mediterranean Sea, *jura divorticult*, & in many parts thereof, had indeed several powers, and priviledges; yet, were they so far from captating this vaine and groundlesse title, that one of the greatest Emperours, begins a rescript, with relation to this same subject, in these words, *Ego quidem mundi dominus, lex vero maris*: thereby manifestly holding forth, that, as he judged it incapable of dominion, so it's unstable nature, and common destination, could only be regular, as to humane concernes, in so far, as Law, and consequently, condition or consent, did determine: from all which, I conclude, that as the Dutch, doe fully satisfie, all that in justice, the King of England can demand, by their offering to strike, conforme to the last Treatie, and have good reason to repugne, either to his indefinite sovereignty, or any further preheminance, for which nothing anterior to the said last Treaty, can in reason be obtruded; so, his pressing them further, in this affair, is, both captious, and unjust, and he might upon as good grounds, refuse them the liberty, of a free passage in the channel, as expect of them a consent, to a dominion, which if not cautioned, by a particular explication, might assuredly be thereto extended.

The second ground of offence mentioned, is, that of the scandalous pictures and pamphlets: but as every sober person, may justly apprehend, that, that prudence, which often adviseth a connivent dissembling, of things of this nature, at home, will far more restraints, any such contentious inquiries, as may advance unto a challenge abroad; so, in case it should here prove too feeble, for the provocation pretended, it is evident, that only such of those pictures, and pamphlets, as are indeed injuriously reproachful, and are licensed, or openly countenanced by the Stats, their authority, can warrant the King of England's charge; by which rule if any man please to examine, the above mentioned condescendence, he must of necessity rest satisfied, that on the one hand, the picture dedicat to De Witt, being onely a true, and honourable representation, *registre*, containing nothing more, then the most ordinary, and easie reward,

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and encouragement of heroick atcheivements, and consequently free of all shaddow of reproach, and on the other hand, that picture of his Maj. with his paramours, being at most (if any such thing was at all) a wanton privateer timeously enough suppressed, when noticed, and so not chargeable upon authority, until once questioned, do no wayes amount to a sufficient verification; whether there be any other pictures, or what there may be in those pamphlets, I must confesse, that for my own part, all the matter of this Article doth appeare to me so light, and slender, that my curiosity hath not hitherto been tempted to an inquiry: This onely I am assured of, that if injuries of this kinde may be compensat, by a counter-charge, the Dutch may quickly ballance this account, the English disdain of the Dutch is an infinit theme: It's true, either its excessive, or some other cause, hath hindered it, to shew it self, in the ingenuousnesse of pictures, and the like phansies, but he who judgeth this, to be a want, may easily finde it supplied by ane immense overplus of pride, and contumelie, in their discourses, and descriptions of that People, both old and late: One thing I may further adde upon this subject, that for that picture instanced of the King of England, and the Ladies, even interest and policy seeme to absolve the Estats of any advice to the Painter, or other accession unto it.

The 3. ground of provocation, intimat by the King of Englands last letter to the Estats, is, That his Majesty thinks himself not bound to suffer the Dutch, to do what injuries they please to their Neighbours, in matter of trade, which if we consider, with a respect to the King's acknowledgement, of the Triple Alliance, and with this onely import, as if he did not judge himself thereby bound, to concurre with, and assist the Dutch, in their injustice, is no doubt fair & righteous, & when made out, cannot but excuse him, to abandon the Dutch, in any such unequal controversy, they may fall into with the French, or any other; Although, whether it may, in like manner, warrant him, to passe from a neutrality, and take part with their adversaries, when there

appeares no ingagement of his own proper interest, may still remaine a question: But seing the circumstances, and whole straine of that letter, together with it's coincidence with the King of France, his complaint of the Dutch innovations, doe visibly hold forth, a quit other tendency, in the expression, and in plain English, that his Majesty presuming upon his Sovereignty of the seas, or some other ground, known to himself, would have the Dutch to submit to his arbitration, upon whatsoever difference, the French may alledge: such an officious interposing, without so much as the pretext, either of a solid title, or real occasion, is palpably void of all colour of right; so, that in effect, the challenge here couched, in place of a declaration of a just offence, doth only exhibit, to the construction of ingenuitie, his Majesties compliance, with the French resentments, and his resolution, to second their armes just or unjust, and procure their satisfaction: As to the innovations, or injuries in trade, generally hinted at, when their Majesties, are both so reserved, who can be expresse? The increase of the Dutch in this matter, is indeed very extraordinary, both to the prejudice and envie of all their neighbours; but, seing it is so assured, that all the Dutch their advantages in trade, are the Pure effects, of their own greater industry, and sobrietie, that neither of the Kings have as yet, thought it fit to acquaint the world, with the particulars of their complaint, it is cleare that these murmurings, so like to the repineings of profuse debauches, equally coveting and lazie, to the proportion of their immense riot, against men of vertue, and diligence, can never amount to a justifiable quarrel: I know, injuries in the remote parts of Africk and Asia, have been discoursed of, and in special, that the Dutch doe there, either secretly instigat, or by compact, oblige the natives, to exclude all others, and principally the English, from commerce in their bounds, (and this was also the great pretext of the last war) but, whither this be only an invention, simulating to come from far, the better to cover it's groundlesse contrivance at home,

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or, that the Dutch by a more happy, and dexterous addresse, in these many lawful wayes, and methods, that may be practised, doe indeed prevail, and carry the affection and trade of these countreys, to the neglect and dammage of other adventurers, I am not inquisitive? Onely, as there hath not hitherto been given, any satisfieing information, in matter of fact; so, I am very confident, that if artifice, and covetousnesse, were sufficient, to compasse such a priviledge, neither English nor French, in these parts, had been at this day, short of those, at whom they thus unreasonably grudge: I need not here much notice, the grievance talked of, by some, against the Dutch, for their excessive transportation of Gold and Silver, to the East Indies: that the thing is an abuse in it self, draining Europe, of it's best substance, to the languishing of trade, and Arts, and the occasioning of many miseries, and that in such a measure, as even the treasures of America, which Europe hath lately devoured, are not to be known, but, it's leanness rather greater, then before, and for no better returne, then that, of spices, drugges and other the like superfluities, is, too too visible; neither can it be denied, that the Dutch, their East Indie Company, who suck out much of the substance of Europe, as the English their Company doth impoverish all England, are, deepest in the transgression; but, seing, beside what may be alledged, from the absolute power, and liberty, competent to every Prince or State, in these matters, the restraining of this evil, is so far from being the ground of the controversie, that on the contrair, the contest, is much animat, by the envile at, and desire of the same pernicious profit, it is evident, that the King of England's plea is nothing thereby bettered.

Having thus weighed and rejected the King of Englands proper pretences, I am sorry, that such a foul conclusion, doth so fairly present, viz. *That, his Majesties present concurrence with the French, against the Dutch, is, not only a manifest partaking with them, in their injustice, and violence, but accompanied, with such circumstances, as doe render the accessory, an hundred fold more guilty then the* princel-

*call*: which that I may more distinctly explicat, I shall breifly reduce, what remains, to the heads proposed, viz. That this assistance, of the King of England, is aggravat on his part, from no lesse opposition, then that of *religion, faith, honour, and interest*: the dearest and highest of all concernes.

And first for Religion, it is evident, that it's dissuasion, cannot be called in question, by any, who doe not doubt his Majestie to be a Protestant; for, seing the truth and protestant cause, are unavoidably threatened, by the French successe, what rational man can think, that a protestant Prince should second them, in the interprise? And really, the connexion of these things, is so obvious, that, it cannot but be grievous, to all his Majesties wel wishers, to heare, and understand, how, that his present proceedings, have so much every where brought his affection to this interest, under debate: I need not here mention, the specious title, that he assumes, of *defender of the faith*, it's engagements, hitherto, have proved so insignificant, that such as before did hesitat, doe now begin to say openly, that his resentment of gratitude, toward the sea of Rome, that conferred it, do in effect seem to preponderat all it's reall import, and that Henry the eighth his scribbling against Luther, which procured him from the Pope this title of the faith's defender, was not in any proportion, that way so considerable, as Charles the second his present arming against the Dutch, may very justly entitle him, with all true protestants, to be the faith's betrayer: whether he will hold on the paralel, and disappoint all appearances and their feares, as the same Henry did the Pope his author, the event will testify, and that he may, is my hearty desire?

The next head that prohibits this apprehended assistance, is, that of *faith*, and in this together with the more common assurances of humanity, Christianity, and protestanisme, doe conspire the special engagements, both of the late Treaty, and Triple Alliance, whereby, the King of England, and the estats, are expressly bound to keep true, firme, and inviolable peace,  
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and neerer, and stricter Alliance, and union, from that day forward, &c. All which, if he should now breake, strangers may indeed exceedingly wonder: I say strangers, for as for us, his subjects, sad experience hath abundantly instructed us, that all our part in this matter, is, to wish, that where neither religion nor faith have availed, yet at least common honesty, and good fame may be prevalent.

The third dissuasive that offers, against this concurrence, is honour: And certainly, where religion and faith doe claime so great a part, honour cannot but have a very large share; but because these succumbeing, no doubt their concomitant will evanish, as a shaddow, it doth therefore present, upon a distinct ground, and pleads from its own peculiar merit. That the English Nation sometimes masters, and ever equal to the French, should not now, be degraded unto a base and mercenary suberviency, it would be of moment, vvith a generous person, to suspend, even a real, let be, a groundlesse provocation, rather then to resent it, snakeingly, against his partie: under another's disadvantage; but, neither can policy be exacted to these rules, nor doth the present case stand upon such a punctilio. Our substance and power, with the noble ascendent, that the genius of this nation, hath alwayes had, over that of the French, do upon more solid grounds, equally disdaine, both the Switzers service, & Munsters hire, and that the King of England, should become a Pensionary of the French King, is a novelty, that hath hitherto had no precedent: But it may be said, that however we may thus calculat, on the one side, yet on the other, if we remember the businesse of *Chattam*, and the Dutch their late exaltation, these cannot but chock every true English heart, and to such at least, as are tenderly sensible of this delicat point of honour, excuse us, to embrace any occasion, whereby we may soonest, and best, retrieve that of our nation, unto it's former splendor: I graunt indeed, that, that affair of *Chattam*, was a high affront, turning in effect England's glory, & the worlds terror, unto the contempt & scorne of a feeble defence, and in our estimation, delivering, what was

as *Neptun's* throne, to be dragged in Triumph, by poor distressed fishers; so, as I suppose, that it may be truly affirmed, as the fairest account of his Majesties displeasure, that his resentment of the *Chattam-Attacque*, is at the root of all: Which as on the one hand, it hath been notably improved by the french caresses, wherewith it is known, that they have plied, both his Majesty, and his favourits, at all points, so, in all probability, the envy of the Dutch prosperity, the irritation of *Van Ghent's* *Go-by*, and the opportunity of the French invasion, with the temptation of their money, have heightened all other grounds of misunderstanding, and advanced the indignation unto this present menacing posture: And thus I confesse things may stand, on the King of England's part: But, seing the surprise of *Chattam*, was on the Dutch their part, a fair act of hostility, rather advanced, then obscured, by the Treaty, begun with the warning of an expresse proviso, of no cessation, it cannot but be graunted, that all these circumstances of his Majesties disgrace, did onely redound, and accumulate, to the Dutch their honour; so, that now, after the thing is voided by an ensueing peace, and so long after, to meditat the revenge of that, which we had neither the providence, nor courage, in it's season to have prevented, nor perhaps durst yet notice, if the conjunction of the French, did not thereto prompt; besids it's injustice, is an impotency, more shameful, then the cause that provocks it: nay when I reflect upon the Dutch, their then successe, together with that pusillanimitie, and distresse, that appeared in our court, and that confusion and consternation, which at that time, did seise not onely London, but the whole nation, and withal consider, how little the Dutch did presse these advantages, either by an irruption into that feareful breach, continuance of the war, or shewing themselves more uneasie, in the dependent Treaty, I cannot but judge, that the Dutch their so singular moderation, and disposition to peace, when England was in its lowest State, ought to be a most powerful mitigation, and utterly to efface all rancour against a people as generous in their carriage, and con-

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descensions, as valarous in their atcheivements: as for the *Go-by* given by the Dutch Vice-Admiral and Fleet to a pitieful pleasure-boat, it is allready examined.

The fourth and last head, that opposeth the King of England's resolution, against the Dutch, is, that of *Interest*: and this indeed is so much the more to be pondered, that not onely for the most part, it hath the greatest sway in humane affairs, but in this present bussinesse is in effect, the cheife inducement, wherewith many of this nation flatter themselves, and would delude others; for, seing, that the Dutch, are the only people, who can compet with the English in naval forces, and that of late, they have in a manner rendred themselves Masters, of the whole trade of the world, to the prejudice of England, and all others, and thereby doe alone hold the ballance, against us; it, must of necessity be graunted, that the dominion will prove England's exaltation: and as to the feare of too much aggrandizing France's naval strength (for as to their power by land, while England retains the command of the seas, it is not to be regarded) it is abundantly excluded, both by the assurance we have, of the Dutch their readinesse to accept of peace, at our pleasure, and of the French their remediless want of seamen, and their nurseries, wherewith England is so richly stored: But, though this reasoning, doth appeare plausible, yet, how quickly is it dashed, by this one short, and obvious supposition, what if the English Fleet be beaten? Which as the righteousnesse, and omnipotent power of the great God, the Lord of Hosts, the injustice of our cause, and the dreadful wickednesse of the land, the judgments of plague, sword, fire, and wasting consumption, which we have already felt, without repentance, his Majesties Motto Jer. 22. 30. which hitherto hath not failed, and the injury offered unto the Dutch, with their inclination to peace, and forced necessity to war, doe render many degrees more probable; So I am sure, that the known distractions, and greivances of the nation, oppressed, by both court and Parliament,

and yet these two divided one against the other, the strange difficulties, and courses taken, in the out-rigge of the present Fleet, perverting right, and starving trade, by the stop of the exchequer, and trampling upon the nations honour and interest, by that base and dangerous supply from France, doe thence portend most sad and funest consequences, and these, so much the more assured, and terrible, that they seem infallibly to depend, not on the disastrous successe of a long war, but on the very simple miscarriage of the first rancountre, and if thereby all the flatteries of our vaine hopes, be not infinitely overbalanced, let all sober men judge. But not alwayes to ominat the worst, admit we doe overcome at first, doth not our late experience, sufficiently teach us, that we by our courage, may gaine fights, and yet by reason of want of stock, lose and be inferiour in the war: Next, when we are superior in the war, where are our solid advantages, and who can finde out, and establish that midds, whereby, neither the French on the one hand, shall reap too great benefit, by the Dutch their ruine, and so be rendered a more powerful competitor; nor the Dutch, on the other, recover all their former habitudes, and successe in trade; seing in effect, both their present increase, and our decay, are from causes altogether inward, as we may heare? Thirdly, doe we willfully shut our eyes; and will we not understand, that the French, first with the Dutch, and now with us, will againe rack about to the Dutch, in case, that we do prevaile: And this leads me to wonder, at the empriness and insignificancy of the consideration, opposed to the just feares of the French their rising greatnesse: if the late extraordinary beginnings of their sea forces, do not convincingly assure, a sutable advance, yet, their Kings first joining with the Dutch, to quash and weaken the English, and now turning to the English, to suppress the Dutch, may palpably discover his designe, either to be himself Master of both, or at least, to suffer neither of them, to overtop him: Now as to the nurseries we boast of, the Thames, our far more  
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happy side of the Channel, New-Castle trade, and forraigne plantations, are no doubt brave conveniencies; and yet a man may well think, that the French, their many sea ports, and rivers, great trade, and also plantations, with their money that answers all things, may in short time, become more then equal; While Spain had the ascendent, the maxime for the English and Dutch, was, in the embleme of two bottles, swimming together, with their motto: *si concutimur, frangimur*: that it should be antiquat, upon the French their far more formidable prevalency, I wish the event do not too late discover the error: O how happy might the English be, if but wise, to advert, how that their recovery of trade, strength and riches, could not possibly misse, by a far more easie expedient, and that in brief (for I may not enlarge) consisting, in the simple reforme of three things, viz. first, of our excesse, in respect of the Dutch frugality, who by their sobriety and hard fare, both by sea and land, do evidently facilitate both manufacture, and transport, to the underselling of all others, and the great advancement of their gaine. Of the luxury of our Court, vvhereby thousands, specially of the youth, are debauched, from all vertue, and those summes, vvhich might be a great accession, to the trading stock of the nation, turned out of that channel, to the maintenance of prodigality, and that beggarly villanous traine, vvherevvith they are attended: And 3, of our Church & Clergy, by vvhose jealous persecutions, irreligious neglect of their office, & sacrilegious consumption of their benefices, and Church livings, so many sober persons, have been, and still are, ruined, or discouraged, so much vice and idlenesse continually fomented, and so great a treasure of money improfitably employed, and wasted. But though the words of wisdom are all in righteousness; yet, knowledge is onely easie to him that hath understanding. I might here further adde, how far more glorious and profitable it would be, for the King of England, in this conjuncture, to show himself Protector of the protestant cause, and thereby, not onely gaine the more cordial and

intense affection, of all his subjects, and the esteem and honour of all the reformed nations, and Churches; but more powerfully binde the Dutch, to all his reasonable demands, to contraine himself in peace, and let his subjects, so much the more plentifully gather it's sweet fruits, while others in their miserable conrendings, doe neglect them: And lastly, to hold the ballance, and in its season absolutely umpire it, amongst all his neighbours, when wearied, and broken by wars, to the restoring of Peace, serling of right, and the high advancement of the interest of the English nation: But who is so blinde as he who will not see? His Majesty is abandoned to his humors, and the solidity of the English nation, that hath ever had a very sound discerning and noble misreguard of the airienesse, & instability of the French, is, at present, exposed, by the cheat of their complements, to the worst designe of their policy. The Dutch, to gratifie the King of England, have, of late, advanced the Prince of Orange, and he who questioneth the ingrediency of this motive, I am sure, may quickly be satisfied, by an easie reflexion; upon the Late Prince his odd extravagancies, and what ensued; this Prince his relation to the King of England, with the influences, that thence may be feared, and the tempting occasion, that the continuance of such a command, after the wars, may give; yet, is not this like to prove a diversion: It is further certain, that the generality of his Majesties subjects, both from the conviction of the reasons above exposed, the increase of grievances, which they begin to feel, and the visible insolency, whereunto a restless Popish party, in our own bowels, are already encouraged, doe, from their heart, equally detest the French conjunction, and dislike this breach with the Dutch: But neither is this a more promising dissuasive, so that after all the scrutiny I have made, in this affair, I must professe, that by such a combination of most important, and evident dissuavives, my thoughts, in the apprehensions of this fatal war, are quite run up to  
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this one, for a rest, that the thing if it fall out, is from the Lord, and what he hath determined will quickly appeare.

It remains now, for conclusion, that I at least name the duetie, to which all this discourse hath so full and fair a tendency, and that all the lovers of truth, his Majesties, and England's wel-being, would be earnest with God, to turn the King from this evil course, and direct him, unto better counsels, is, I am sure a warrantable, seasonable, and Loyal part; but if God in his holy providence shall permit him to proceed, his Authority, cannot warrant our obedience, unto such a sinful concurrence: I know, that of late, that Apostolick position, *It is better to obey God then man*, hath been much decried, as fanaticke, and seditious, and that for me to insist on such an exhortation, would be derided, by many, as vain and ridiculous canting; but, however men receive it, I am sure with the Apostle Paul, that the judgment of God, is according to truth, against them which commit such things, to render tribulation and anguish, unto every soul of man that doeth evil, to the subject as well as unto the Prince, and that with God there is no respect of persons: neither is the insufficiency of this plea, of the authority of Princes, in opposition to the Law of God, yet to be determined; Ephraim but walked willingly after the commandment, yet was he therefore oppressed, and broken in judgement. The time was, in England, when men, rather then to betray their civil liberty, to the will of arbitrarie orders, did chuse to suffer the imprisonment of their persons, and ruine of their whole estates, when, they might have redeemed both, by a very small voluntary payment: shall we then now, so far degenerate, as not only to give our moneyes, and estates, but surrender, and sacrifice our blood, lives, and souls to the carrying on of an unjust war, against both religion, and righteousness? God forbid: Now if it be asked, what then should we do? I am no furious fanaticke, my answer is plain and safe, onely sin nor, by any direct accession to this unrighteous



reous war, and if ye therefore be put to suffer, remember, that, *blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousnesse sake, for theirs is the Kingdome of heaven, and he is also faithful who will not suffer us to be tempted, above what we are able:* But if men say, nay, but we will obey our Prince, be avenged upon these insolents, recover our honour, and restore our trade; let them be doing, and be strong for the battel, God may make them fall before the enemy, for *he hath power to helpe the injured, and to cast downe the proud:* Once more, therefore, be warned, and remember, and feare, *lest if ye sh<sup>d</sup> doe wickedly, ye be consumed both ye and your King.*

## POSTSCRIPT.

**A**fter I had digested the foregoing discourse, I confesse the evident improbability, of the King of England's grounds, did make me subsist in the conviction, that, either I had superfluously laboured, to prevent a vaine feare, or at least, might expect, some far more weighty reasons, then any I have mentioned; but behold, a new surprisal both to me, and all that heare of it. The Dutch menaced by the French Kings power, and forces, are not only willing to comply with all reason, for the establishing of a good understanding with the King of England; and the obtaining of his favour; but, by a new Embassie and very obliging proposalls, are courting him, if he cannot keep faith, and the late Alliance, at least, to the safe and advantageous part, of a fair neutrality; when on a sudden, his men of war, are sent out, and in open hostility; set upon the Dutch merchants, returning thorow the Channel, looking for no such thing, but on the contrair, wholly amazed at the rancountre, and there sink, and take what they are able: Now, when, or where was ever the like heard? That the King of England,

land, a King, and a great King, a man in appearance, and a Christian by title, and a protestant by profession, should not only, contrair to all the manifest reasons above adduced, combine to assist the French, and Popish armes, against an oppressed protestant State, desirous of nothing more then Peace, and quiet, but become himself the first invader, and that in plaine piratick violence, without any preceeding denunciation of war.

I shall not now repeat any thing that I have said, nor in effect add much, in a matter so palpable to the meanest discerning. it is certainly a matter of sad regrat, to see both our Court thus wheedled by French illusions, and againe the nation forced, and driven, by the Courts influences, to become the principal party, in a war, wherein, their assistance was more then was expected, and hounded out, to the first attacque; whereas their instigators resolutions, were not published: If ordinary reason did not suffice, to governe our passion, yet a man may well think, that at least our experience, and knowledge of the French their politick and safe procedoure, in their last assistance promised to the Dutch, might have restrained this precipitation, which I am sure, is so absurd, and ridiculous; that if the French should also hover (though that is not now to be supposed) and suspend for this yeer their invasion, in the pleasant observation, of the happy successe of their designs, in the mutual contentions, and ruines of the two nations, in whose overthrow, they must apprehend their advantage to ly; Nay, in the end, should lend their hand, to set up the Dutch (if brought under) for continuing the war, it would undoubtedly prove, as much their advantage as recreation. But suppose we would on any termes fight the Dutch, are we indeed so blind with rage, as to have omitted the premising of a publick declaration, which in such a case, the law, and custome of all nations, and ages, doth manifestly require? or if the equity of this promulgation, founded in that cleare rule, *omnia prius experiri quam armis sapientem decet*: And confirmed, both by reason, and the Law of God, Deut. 20. 10, could not move, yet, should not the positive necessity of this

formality, as to the honour and effects, at least, of a solemn vvar, and for hindering the Sovereigne of the seas from becoming the Archest of pyrats, have prevailed upon us? I graunt, it had been a difficult task, to have said any thing handsomely, let be reasonably, on such a subject; and yet, on the other part, I am confident, that if some remains of natural shame, had not opposed an expresse confession of our folly, and vvickednesse, vve vvould rather have ventured upon the vvorlds lighter censure, then incurred their derasting horroure.

But vvhy do I enlarge? Or vvhat do I expect by reasoning? Nay, *quid vultis furoribus, &c.* That the Dutch their small lose, through this treachery, is infinitely compensated, by the gaine it brings, of all other nations favour, and an accession of as much more confidence in God, and firme courage, as the King of England hath added of dishonour to his violence, is too too evident: How much more it may excit my countrey men to the dueties, whereunto I have exhorted, I leave it to the perswasion of the thing it self, which needeth no words either to illustrat, or enforce it. Ambrose tells us of the primitive times, *Julianus Imperator Apostata, habuit sub se Christianos milites, quibus cum dicebat, producite arma pro defensione Rei-publice, obediebant; cum autem ait disceat, producite arma, in Christianos, tunc agnoscebant Imperatorem Cuius:* Which passage, doth here so exactly quadrat, as I am assured, that every one, who reveres the same great God, must acknowledge its force. But our God is in the heaven, he will do whatsoever he pleaseth.



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*More particular Reviewe of his Majesties Declarations for his War with the Dutch, and Indulgence to Tender Consciences.*

Observing in the Postscript to my former, that the King of England had taken up armes, I thought, that there I had also laid down my pen; but since it hath at length, pleased his Majesty to appeare in print, in a *Declaration* of war, against the Stats General, &c. and likewise in an other of *indulgence* to all his loving subjects; their relation to my former discourse, hath likewise inclined me, to a summar reviewe of both: And because the war is now certain and formed, I suppose it may conduce, to a more satisfying understanding of the whole, that by way of preface I briefly resume it's progresse, unto the present period.

There are not yet many moneths past, since the Dutch, of a long time threatned by the French King, his preparations, and approaches, did sollicite the King of England to their aid conforme to their Alliance, which though by reason of former resentments, and late displeasures, was indeed hopelesse; yet, most men thought, that the singular benefit of peace, in the midst of our neighbours wars, the greater likelyhood of the Dutch their condescendence, and submission, in the hope of reliefe, then in desperat hostilitie, with the assured satisfaction, either of an easie revenge, upon the Dutch, continuely refractory, by the hand of the French, or of the advantageous glory of umpireing it betwixt both, would undoubtedly determin us, to subsist, in an attentive, and well prepared neutrality; but the French their addresse, and advance, prevailing upon our incon-

stant passions, and debauched penury we proceed, notwithstanding of the Genius, inclination, and interest of the nation, and the dissuasion both of reason and religion, to Balance to the French assistance; vvhich vvas the occasion of my first discourse: And neither in this shevving more fixednesse, the precipitancy of error and fury still driveing, vve on a sudden, in the very time, that the Dutch had sent an extraordinary Ambassadour to propose their utmost condescensions, for appeasing us, vvithout any promulgation of vvar, fall upon the Merchant ships, returning, & striking to us, in the Channel, destroying and taking all we could, as I have remarked in my foregoing Postscript, and thereafter we emitt the declaration of war, which cometh now to be examined: Wherein (suppressing the Date, as being ashamed to confesse our anterior piratick violence) his Majesty, beginning with the attestation, of his own zeal, for the quiet of Christendome, *hopeth, that the world will beleeve, that it is inevitable necessity, forceth him to Armes*: I shall not question the truth of his Majesties confidence, in this insinuation; though I heartily wish, that he could have appealed to some more known, and credible proof: He tells us indeed, *that after his restauration*: (which was in the year 1660) *his first work was to establish Peace with his neighbours, and so conclude a strict league with the Dutch*: But as this was at best, nothing more then a convenient formality, in such ane exigent; so, we know too well the horrible subversions, and persecutions, wherein, contrair to his solemne Oaths, and promises, both old and late, he was at that time exercised in, at home, to conclude from this his short and necessary abstaining from forraigne disturbances, that regard which he pretends for Christendomes quiet. As for his sudden rupture with the Dutch, in the year. 1665, he foreseeeth the objection, and would lay it upon the Parliament, moved thereto, by the Dutch their injuries, and oppressions, and justifieth it, by his preceeding endeavours, of a reasonable accommodation; But will the world receive this naked affirmation, when as it neither then had, nor is it ever like to have, a distinct, let  
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be a satisfying account, of that matter? And even England is convinced, that nothing save a malignant envy, influenced, by the sinistrous designs, of a corrupt Minister, and a vaine royal Company, did pousse us on, to that extravagance, and with what tendernesse of Christendom's peace, we in the prosecution thereof, hired the Bishop of Munster, to a land invasion; needeth not my pen to make it be remembred: As for the shameful, and disastuous event of that war, I should not have mentioned it, the Dutch their braving it, upon our coasts, in the end of the year 1665 routing our whole fleet, in 66, sole Masters of the sea, infesting our ports (to the very beseiging of the nation) firing therein our best ships, and leading our *Charles* in triumph, in the 67, are things too sad, and recent, for a true English man, to think on, without confusion and blushing. But seing his Majesty is pleased, to say, that *his victories, and the Dutch losses, were memorable enough, to put them in mind of being more faithful*: I cannot but regret, that the nations, from such a reference, should have such ample ground, both to condemne us, upon our owne allegations, and flout us, for our vaine effrontry: But to let passe this pitiful transiſion, we are in the next place told, that the last Peace was no sooner made, *but the Dutch returned to their use of breaking Articles and supplanting our trade*: As for instance foresooth, *the Stats were Particularly engaged, by an Article of the Treaty at Breda, to send Commissioners to London for regulating of the East-Indie trade; But they were so far from it, that on the contrary, our Ambassadors were by them slighted, and no forbearance of former wrongs obtained.* A man might have thought, that such an open challenge of perfidy, and fraud, would certainly be followed, by a weighty and liquid condescendence, and that in place of the accidental misgive of a meeting, not pre-emptorily appointed, instance might at least have been made, in some one or other, of those wrongs complained of, specially, seing, that his Majesty, in the bussinesse of *SUYCHAM*, is very positive, and in another lesse material particular, even to the noticing of pictures and meddals: But the truth is,

these

there are no wrongs, that we could alledge; all our old pretensions, though in this declaration, several times remembred, were buried in oblivion, by an expresse article of the last Treatie; and since that time, none have occurred: Besides, it is so notour, that all the Dutch their advantages, in point of trade, which we terme wrongs, do proceed directly, on their part, from their sobriety, and industry, and on England's part, from our idleness, and Luxury, that men should be ashamed, by such groundlesse accusations, to discover their invidious murmurings: What further remains here, in matter of fact, the Stats will, no doubt, fully cleare it: One thing I may adde, that, as the Printed Articles referred unto, do onely beare, that both parties were content, that Commissioners on both sides, should meet, as soon, as might be, after the peace, for the regulating of commerce, and navigation, and do neither mention London, for the place, nor the East-Indie trade, for the subject; so it may easily be supposed, that for any other appointment, of this nature, that might have been made, the Stats have either been alwayes, willing to keep, or were at present, able to excuse the delay, & ready to observe any new appointment, upon demand. From this his Maj. goes on, to accuse them, of another breach, in the West-Indies, about the restitution of *Surenam*; and truly, he is in this so expresse, and plaine, that as his passing from it, to more uncertain alleagances, and on these rather stating the present controversie, gives me a shreud suspicion; so, the bussinesse consisting mostly in fact; I intirely referre it, to the Stats, their answer: Who, I am sure, will thereto retorne a direct, and undeniable contradiction.

But it's no wonder (saith his Maj.) that they venture at these outrages upon our subjects, in remote parts; when they dare be so bold, with our royall person, and the honour of this nation, so neer us as in their own country (Boorish animals, in the conceit of their popular sovereignty, forgetting the respect due to soveraignes!) and there almost everywhere setting forth abusive pictures, and historical meddals, and pittors some of which, have been ordered, by command of the State themselves

even when we were united with them, to counsel, for the support, of the Triple Alliance I have been already, so full upon this objection, that here I need add nothing; let the matter be thoroughly searched, and I am perswaded it will be found far more disgracefull, in this unworthy, and impotent resentment, then, in all the malice of our adversaries; & as this complexed quarrel, doth unquestionably resolve it self, either in the contemptible luxury, of petulant wits, which the Stats did never daigne to notice; or the warrantable commemoration, of laudible achievements, which they may very justly own; so, certainly, the most noble redresse for the future, were, manfully to remove the occasion, or at least despise the scorne, which our feminine weaknesse, hitherto, hath so plentifully furnished: And hence is it, that, although his Majesty doth judge, that this alone, were cause sufficient of his displeasure, and his subjects resentment; yet, not being ignorant of the advantages given, and knowing well, that Englands glory, was of late, so highly advanced, under a sober and solid government, (though both usurped, and odious) as that the alterations, which now expose us to contempt, cannot be made any just ground for engaging us, into this war, he doth not rest upon it; but (saith he) we are urged by neerer considerations, and the safety of our trade, the preservation of our subjects abroad, and the Hollanders daring to affront us, almost within our ports, are the things which move our just indignation, against them: And as to the first two grounds, though, his Majesty doth adduce nothing, nor before answered, to demurre my progresse; yet, when I consider, the mortal repugnancy of war to trade, and safety, the sensible grievance, and retardment that the former hath already suffered, by the late stop, on the Exchequer, occasioned by our preparations, and the many other burdens, losses and distractions; wherewith, war is necessarily attended; I cannot enough admire, by what artifice, our present methods, can promote our designs: I regard not justice, or injustice; if even by killing, we could hope to possess, it would in some measure, satisfy; But in this event, the

the French, so manifestly present, as I am forced to say, that unlesse his Majesty intend, as the plague doth, to encrease our trade, and riches, by diminishing the number of the proprietors, and minde our preservation, by hiding us, in the grave, and deepths, lest we should live to see our selves miserable, I see no other possible issue, of these his specious incitements: But, their daring to affront his Maj. is, the thing, we can least digest: *The right of the flag, was one of the first prerogatives, of our Royal Antecessors, and ought to be the last, from which, this Kingdome, should ever depart: It was never questioned, & it was expressly acknowledged, in the Treatie at Breda, and yet, this last summer, it was not onely violated, by their commands at sea, and that violation afterward justified at the Hague, but it was also represented, by them, in most Courts, as ridiculous for us, to demand: Although, I have said so much already, on this subject, as is sufficient, to free the Dutch from all breach of Treaty, and more then enough, to make it evident, to sober impartiality, that the offence is rather fancied, and imaginary, on the part of the complainer, then really given, by the party complained of; yet, since his Majesty will needs fill the World, with a noise, about this nothing, that the cry of the injustice of the war, may not be heard, and will by the force of imagination, magnify it, to the height, and quality, of such an insufferable injury, as if it alone (if not expiat with the blood of the offender) were more then sufficient, to drive him to the sad and inevitable necessity, of covering the Ocean with ships, to the emptying of the nations treasure, & dying the sea with the blood of his subjects, to wipe off the staine of this affront; I am necessitat to take up ballance again, and weigh the just import of this provocation: Nor doe I preoccupy the judgment of any, if I premit this, to what upon the most accurat, and impartial search, I have found, that, whosoever weighs this deed, in the Ballance of sound reason, must be forced to say, that nothing save implacabile malice, could have seduced any, to have laid it, in whole, or in part, as a foundation, on which, the weight of such a war, was to be laid: If any judge otherwise,*

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let him, for satisfiſying himſelf, conſider theſe things: Firſt, that, whatever paſt in this rancountre, betwixt his Maſteſties pleaſure-boat, and the Dutch fleet, was ſo far from being done almoſt within his Maſteſties ports (as is affirmed) that, it was not within the Brittiſh ſeas, the place, to which alone, the Treary tieth expreſſely, the Dutch, to this formality of ſtriking to our men of war; for, at this time, the Dutch Fleet, were riding at Anchor, upon their own coaſt, which never yet was, nor can be called, the Brittiſh ſeas: where now is there ground for accuſation, let be revenge? Hence ſecondly, though our Court, would repreſent the Dutch, to the world, as ſuch moroſe clownes, who deſerve to have their head cut off, for not capping to a pitieful picture of a man of war; yet I am almoſt ſurpriſed, at the generous exceſſe of civility, which appeared in the obliging carriage, of that Gallant Gentleman, *Mijn Heer van Ghent*, who not onely ſaluted the Engliſh lady, whom he knew to be aboard that boat, with a volley of great guns, but went alſo aboard, to complement her; ſo that it might well be queſtioned, whether, he being a perſon of ſuch truſt and command, they had greater cauſe of quarrelling him, at the *Hague*, for having done too much, or complaining of him at *Whitehal*, for having done too little? What Engliſh man, may not bluſh, to think, that the Dutch, are not onely like to carry away the trade from us, by their induſtry and ſobriety, but to outſtrip our courteours alſo, in courtſhip and civility? Will we in our fretfulneſſe, needs pick quarrels, where humanity would prompt and inſtigat us, to the revenge of gratitude? And this leads me to a third viz. That the world may rather wonder, that the King of Eng-land, did not expreſſe his gratitude to the Dutch, for being at ſo vaſt a charge, as to equippe, and put to ſea, a Fleet, ſufficient to guard, againſt any attempts from the French, (he being by the Triple Alliance, equally engaged with them, to have prepared, and put forth, in order to that defence, a conſiderable number of men of war) then, thus without cauſe, to quarrel, and meditat revenge: muſt the Dutch have no other thanks,

for bearing the burden alone, without putting us to bear our proportion; shall they have no other interest but blowes, for having laid out such vast summes, without urging us, to doe, what in honour we could not deny to be duety? Is it not matter of blushing, that his Majesty, should so expose himself, together with the Nation, to the upbraidings, of a sober people, and the world's just censure of high ingratitude. But why do insist? though his Majesty with a great pomp, and parad of words, would precipitat the World, into the beliefe of his being, in this particular, injured by the Dutch, adhibiting the utmost of artifice, to give it, the appearance of an injury, I hope, upon the Consideration of what formerly was said, and is now adduced, I may assert, without all hesitaton, that his Majesties right of the flage, as acknowledged, in the Treaty, hath neither been questioned, nor violated by the Dutch, far lesse represented, in the manner mentioned: all the bussinesse is, that one of his Majesties pleasure-boats, passing through the Dutch fleet, lying at Anchor, upon their own coast, had not that honour payd to her, which the Dutch, are onely obliged, to render, to his Majesties men of war, in the Brittish seas: Which account if it be indeed so true, and unanswerable, as to have moved neighbouring courts, to laugh at the peevishnesse, of our offence, and doth novv amaze the vvorlde at the rage and violence, whereunto it hath transported us, are the Dutch therefore to be accused? No, no, his Majesty himself judgeth otherwise, and therefore, he subjoins, *An ungrateful Insolence, that they should contend with us, about the dominion of the seas, who even in the reigne of our royal father, thought it, an obligation, to be permitted to fish in them, by taking of licences, and pay a tribute:* And here lyes the great discovery, the right of the Flage is all, that is drectly pretended; but, dominion of the narrow seas, under the colour of a sophistical equipollency, is the thing mainely intended: I shall not repeat what I have above adduced, for distinguishing, this prerogative, from the dominion aimed at, and explicating this whole matter; but as his Majesties covert insinuation, doth a-  
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boundantly verify, even his own diffidence, of his absurd and insupportable claime; so, if we go about, thus to renverse nature, and subvert humane liberty, the Dutch are the first; but neither the greatest, nor the last enemy, which we are to apprehend: As to the license to fish, here instanced; since I cannot set down what is truth, in matter of fact, considering the confidence, wherewith it is asserted, without a reflexion, which I by choice forbear, I leave that to the States their vindication: But, suppose it had been sought, and graunted, within that space of distance, from our coast, which the positive law of nations; and consent of mankind, hath in a manner everywhere appropriate, to the countreyes respectively adjacent, it signifieth nothing to his Majestie's purpose: what is then the Dutch their ingratitude, and insolence, that provokes his Majesty, to an exclamation? let all men judge: It is said, *they owe their being and wealth to our protection and valour*: But, as all the world knowes, that, as interest is the loadstone of policy, and policy the onely director of State transactions; so, I think, I need not amuse my self, to shew, either, how that the English in former times, did not supererogat, in any higher degree of charity, toward the Dutch, above the perswasion of their own advantage, or that in all probability, the Dutch would be yet more ready to repay us, if we should be reduced to the same distresse, and circumstances, which is gratitud's just retribution.

To these things, his Majesty addes, that, *notwithstanding all these provocations, he patiently expected satisfaction, not being willing to expose the peace of Christendome, for his own particular resentments, whilst, the Dutch ceased not, to provoke the most Christian King* (though a small elogy, yet an unbecoming title, from the faith's defender) *against us, of which, they thought, themselves so secure, that for above a twelvemonth, their Ministers, have here threatened us with it*: Now, for the commendation which his Majesty affects, I remit it unto the impartial judgement of the same provocations, and patience, whence he would derive it; but as to what ensues, are we so vaine of, and innoxicated with, our French, or most

Christian Alliance, that we have lost our senses? or hath the world seen with their eyes, for above these two yeers, the French and Dutch in hostile preparations, and mutual defiance? And on the other hand, the French and English, in continual complements, and embraces, and yet, are they all deluded? And the Stats the most dull sots, or empty politicians imaginable? If ingenuity would permit, I sometime incline to think, that it must be the Dutch representations at our Court, of the danger of discord, and the advantage which the French may thereby gain, that is here so strangely misconstrued, and abused; but why should I straine? I beleeeve verily, the words are like their Author, wholly unaccountable

The next passage telleth us, of his Majesties Last Ambassadour, and how to his pressing memorials, *he could receive no answer, untill he had declared his revocation, and then, they offered a paper to this effect, that in this conjuncture, they would condescend to strike, if we would assist them against the French; but upon condition, it should be no precedent, in their prejudice:* And as to this Embassie, though I might easily bring to minde, the difference, about the method of proposals, the Ambassadour tabling onely his demand about the Flage, and the Stats upon the rational consideration, of the then appearances, desirous to hear all, that he had to require, before they would give answer, and thence excuse, the Stats their delay; and though I could also exhibit, such an account of the Paper of return, as might abundantly cleare, that, as the Dutch, did onely qualify their offer, of a new engagement to strike (which they had all reason to do, having, as it's like they will, in it's season, make manifest, stretched their condescension, the more to fixe if possible, the King of England to a stedfastnesse beyond what could have been wrung from the termes of that Treaty at Breda) with the condition of our reciprocal performance, of the Alliance; so it was this novel sea-dominion, and not the formality of striking, against which, they did precaution, for the future; yet, it being a matter of pure fact, I chuse rather  
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to leave it, to the Stats their proper vindication, then further to dive in it.

In the last place, his Majesty, telleth us, that, *the Dutch did lately send an Extraordinary Ambassadour, to him, who in a most extraordinary manner, hath given him to understand, that he can offer no satisfaction, until he have sent back to his Masters:* But seeing the surprize of his Majesties late hostile attacque of the Dutch merchants, before any intimation of war, and just when this their Ambassadour, was making ready, to expose his offers, was in effect such, as might have made him, not onely to stop a commencing, but to break off, a very far advanced Treaty, is it not strange, to see, a great Prince, shut up his declaration, emitted for publick satisfaction, with so little regard to all mens Knowledge, and apprehensions, and as it would seem for the pedantick affectation of a running repetition, scorn the world, with a dissimulation that hath no pretext? But I know the Stats are in case, to give such a reply, and to cleare up all those matters of fact, alledged by him, to justify his present engagement, (and represented to all men, as such insolencies, and injurious affronts, which have constrained him, over the belly of his own inclination, to engage in this war) that will be so plain, and perfect a contradiction, to all his pretended reasons, as will not onely prove, that there was never a more just defensive war on their part, nor unrighteous invasion upon his, but by a naked representation of truth will amaze the world, at the confidence, wherewith these things are asserted, and put it with all sober persons, beyond debate, that their is a mystery of iniquity, lurking at the bottome, and masked under these pretenses.

These being his Majesties reasons for our war, that they do nothing relieve his resolution, of that verdict I have given upon them, specially, in respect of their contrariety to righteousness, & religion, is undeniably manifest; but because his intentions as to the latter may now be more clearly observed, in that second de-

claration of indulgence, above mentioned, I shall in like manner shortly peruse it.

And that his Majesty, in the remembrance, of the rigours and persecutions, wherewith the sober and godly, in his dominions, have hitherto been sore vexed, may not onely in time be admonished, to feare the inconveniencies, which may thence necessarily arise, and provide a remedy, by a fair indulgence, but also, in the serious conviction of the evil of his wayes, and just apprehensions of divine wrath, thorowly converted, to breake of his sins by righteousness, and his iniquities by shewing mercy to the oppressed, is certainly, not more the desire of all his faithful subjects, then it would infallibly prove, the lengthening of his tranquillity: But, seing in place of any thing of this nature, the declaration under our hand, hath quit another tendency, and both from the intimation of all circumstances, sufficiently laid out in my first discourse, and from it's whole composition appeares, to be nothing else, then a cunning device, to secure his Majesty, from the dislike of good men in this sinful combination, against the protestant interest abroad, and in the mean time, to foment and promote the Popish party and cause at home, until, that, in the righteous judgment of God, if we foresee it not, truth should again be benighted, by the darknesse of Popish superstition, and all it's lovers, exposed to that Tyranny, the most pernicious poison of ease, which we have here presented, under the no lesse plausible tentation of the Gospel's liberty, doth without question, so much the rather oblige all concerned, to a more intent, and accurat disquisition: Which, that I may the better performe, it is in the first place to be noted, that, albeit the conception of this paper, doth generally include all sorts, of Non-Conformists, and recusants, and that the liberty therein graunted to Popish recusants, seems to be much more restricted; yet, if we may subject his Majesties inclinations (or rather plain intimations) to the judgement of reason, all appearances do evince, that, whereas to protestants, they are the meer constraints of policy, unto Papists they are indeed  
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the spontaneous motions, of a propense favour; for, seeing our present engagement against the Dutch, the nature of an indulgence, an involuntary dispense against standing lawes, and his Majesties plain profession, do obviously hold forth, that the license, is in effect, extorted, by extrinsick pressures, it's extension unto the Popish party, who thereunto do adde no moment, doth abundantly argue it, in this regard, to be an act of free choise: I need not here remember, how much, this hath alwayes been his Majesties byasse, what cherishing connivance, Papists have quietly enjoyed, to the great increase of their numbers, and insolence, since the year 1660. whilst other Non-Conformists, have been tossed, with continual vexations; it hath not been the least ingredient in the bitterness of these grievances; neither are there many yeers, since he emitted, in their favour a proclamation, of such ample grace, that even his present most obsequious Parliament, did, by an unanimous addresse, interpose for it's revocation; so, that, things being evenly weighed, viz. his Majesties unsatisfiable displeasure at, and causelesse jealousy of, the Protestant Non-conformists, with his constant good opinion, and affection, witnessed to those of the Roman communion, his present groundlesse wars against the protestant States, and sinful, and foolish conjunction with the French, not more regreted by the better sort, then rejoiced in, by the other, the comprehending of all in the same indulgence, may, not onely perswade the inequality of favour by me remarked, but further very rationally induce, to beleieve, that the more apparent latitude, conceded to protestant dissenters, is, onely the better to cover, the real advancement of the Popish interest, the Principal designe of this contrivance, and therefore in conformity to these grounds, if my reflexions shall be also different, seeming to straiten on the one hand, and to enlarge on the other, discovering the protestant to be onely tempted, and snared, and the Papist favoured, and honoured, I hope, the palpable agreement of this proceeding,

cedoure, to his Majesties own intentions, will easily defend me, from the censure of malice or calumny,

For preface then, his Majesty with the same truth and confidence, wherewith we have heard him assert, his zeal for quiet in his declaration of war, commenceth this his indulgence against the truth, by telling us, *that his care and endeavours, for the preservation of the rights, and interests of the Church, hath been sufficiently manifested to the world, by the whole course of his government:* O unhappy care, that hath wrought such dismal alterations! The true rights, and interests of the Church of God, are, the purity of his worship, and ordinances, the protection of his Ministers, & the advancement of true Godlinesse: Now, that in exchange, for any meature of these blessings; which, we formerly enjoyed, since his Majesties return, we have onely seen, God's worship corrupted, into vaine imposed formalities, and the vilest of the people, made priests, in their place, and wickednesse exalted, by the most avouched perjury, & profanity, that ever was known amongst men, is a truth, under the sense whereof, every serious soul doth groan; but in effect, his Majesty hath been, and is still, so entirely bended, to advance against the Lord, *proud supremacy*, and set up in the Church, a wicked prelacy, a debauched clergy, and superstitious liturgy, thereby to model, and subject, all the concerns of Religion, to his own lusts, and humours, as I am confident, *that all the lovers of truth, in lieu of being abused, by this pretended care, will onely regard it, as a seasonable warning, to take the more diligent heed, to the* snare that may be, and is couched, in all it's proposalls: Thus, for a demonstration, he subjoins, *the frequent coercions he hath used, upon dissenters, and for composing differences, in matters of Religion:* and whether this be more concludent on his Majesty's, or on my behalfe, I leave it to the impartial discernor: However, we may well observe, that since his Majesty, even in his gracious humour, thinks his care of the Church, principally commendable, by his former severities, which after the manner of the primitive persecutions, are at present onely intermitted,

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from feare, and policy, when these restraints are over, we cannot but expect, that he will resume his wonted methods, and that, with all the irritation, wherewith his inward fretting at a forced liberty, may probably impress him: But (saith he) *it being evident, that there is very little fruit of these forcible courses* (a fair conviction, if well followed) *we think our selves obliged to make use of our supremacy:* And truly if he were seriously minding reformation, and thereto applying his royal power, which can never be more properly, nor gloriously imployed, we should the lesse scruple, the error, though he should mistakingly ascribe, the extraordinary call of the present pressing exigence, to the warrant, of a pretended perpetual prerogative: But, seeing we may here manifestly perceive, that, that power, which at first, did onely acclaime the Clergies civil dependence, and then after, becoming vaine of the Reformation, wherein it was honoured, did excrese, & excede to the ordering of Church-Rites, & Government, under the notion of externals, doth at present presume to license, and authorise, all Rome's superstition; do we not discover, the wickednesse of that usurpation, which pretends, to as absolute a dispose, in matters of Religion, as was ever arrogat, over worldly propriety? Thus wee see the Scepter wristed out of the hand of his Christ, and swayed in a perfect opposition to him, & designed subserviency to his grand enemy the Anti-Christ, which as it ought to make our eye affect our heart, while we see that Scripture fulfilled in our eyes, that the Kings of the earth, shall give their power unto the beast, and make war with the Lamb; so it concerns his Majesty, while he invadeth the Mediators scepter, to remember, that he hath also a rod of iron in his hand, to secure his scepter and avenge himself of such, as do not strike to him, in recognisance of his absolute supremacy.

In the next place, his Majesty addeth his motives, viz. *that he issues out this declaration, aswel for the quieting of the minds, of his good subjects, in these points, inviteing of strangers, in this conjuncture, and the encouragement of all, to follow their callings, as also, for preventing the danger of seditious conventicles.* Blessed is the man, whose

minde is staid, trusting in the Lord, for there is nothing here sincere, what quietnesse, from such a self destroying assurance? I do not mention it's mutability, though all men know, that the first meeting of the Parliament, would remonstrat all this grace to nothing, but, vvhen to the establishing of ever jealous, and persecuting prélaey, the licensing of pernicious plotting popery is adjoynd, certainly, if we be lulled asleep, with such a charme, we deserve, the sleep of death, which, it's poison menaces: As for the inviting of strangers, French caterpillars we may indeed expect, and swarmes of Romish locusts, but to others, who might have found some allurements in this liberty, how much is it to be feared, that our violence shall prove more disgustful then the motive attractive: And as for Trades encouragement, can any man be so infatuated, as to believe, that, that vvhich in it's onely season of peace, could never have vvéight, should novv be truly minded, by such, vvho have so little cared to involve us, in the confusions, and burdens of vvar? What a golden indulgence must it be, that vvill yet erect our trade, under all these pressures? But, his Majesty doth indeed fear seditious Conventicles, and may be something worse, *nam mala mens, malus animus*: And although I neither know, nor designe to increase his grounds; yet, in my affectionat desire for his vvelfare, I earnestly vvish, he vvould remember, that in all ages, a prince, his ovvn inconsistency, and oppression, have proved his greatest adversaries, & are most to be feared, and that they are indeed so fatal and funest, that neither force, nor policy could ever yet vvard of their mischiefe, for he is above them vvho gives the blow.

But I have too long retarded his Majesties benevolence, vvhich in the first place declares his expresse resolution, meaning and intent, to be (so that we may blame our selves if vve be mistaken) that, *the Church of England be preserved entire in its Doctrines, discipline and government, as now it stands established by law, and that this be taken, to be, as it is, the basis, rule, and standards (vvhat place he assigns to the Scriptures of truth I know not) of the general,*  
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*and publick worship of God, and further, that the conformable clergy, enjoy their revenues, and that no person, be capable of any benefice, who is not exactly conformable:* I need not enlarge, upon the imports of this passage; what the Church of England here meant, is, and hath done, wee all know, if any man think, that these roots of bitterneſſe, prelacy, and ſuperſtition remaining, they will not again ſpring up, into all that perſecution, vvhereof ſome may novv fancy themſelves to be diſcharged, he is but ill acquainted, either with their nature, or practiſes: He who deſireth to be informed, may conſult experience, which will abundantly ſatisfy, hovv much better, and more free accommodations, have, thereby been diſturbed, and fruſtrat: Hovv-ever, there is one part of this Royal reſolution, vvwhich I cordially cloſe vvith if candidly meant, and that is, that, the doctrine of this Church, may be effectually preſerved, I may not here ſtay, to explain my reaſons; but, he vvho ſhall be pleaſed, to peruſe our old homilies, and compare them, vvith that doctrine, vvwhich doth novv very much boaſt itſelf, both in pulpit, and print, he vvill quickly underſtand, our former profeſſion, to be ſo ſadly depraved, vvith *Socinian, Papiſh, and Arminian* Errors, that, this alone, vvhere enough, to bring upon us, all our feares: As for the excluſion of all perſons, not exactly comformable, from benefices, although it be without doubt a mighty diminution of the favour, of a juſt indulgence, ſince it depriveth both of the encouragement and conveniency due, to the miniſters of the Goſpel; yet the maſter of theſe labourers, having pledged his alſufficiency for their ſupply, and the Church of God having alvvayes, been truly richeſt when pooreſt, I confeſſe, it is a matter whereon I ſhall not ſpend my complaints, however it be juſt matter of his repentance.

In the next place (ſaith his Maſteſty) *wee do declare our will that the execution of all manner of penal lawes, in matters eccleſiaſtical, againſt whatſoever ſort of Non-conformiſts, or reſuſants, be immediately ſuſpended, and ſhew orderably ſuſpended, &c.* And this is the great jubile, a proclaimed liberty, to Atheiſts, Socinians, Papiſts, Jeſuits, ſe-

minary priests, Arminians, Sects of all sorts, and the grossest here-ticks, to contemne Religion, commit idolatry, impugne truth, Blaspheme, seduce, and destroy souls, uncontroulled: It's true the conscientious Non-conformist, hath also his part, in this exemption; but, as God did send forth his Gospel, into the world in weakenesse, and foolishnesse, destitute of all humane advantages, and onely, by his owne grace and presence, did sustaine, and advance it, against all the opposition, that the malice, or violence, Potentats, Authorities, or powers of the earth, could devise, or execute against it, to the effect, that neither our faith, nor his truth, should stand, in the help of man, but in the power of him, who hath promised, to be with us, unto the end of the World; so, I am perswaded, that no man fearing and beleev-ing, the same Lord God, will judge, all the favour that men can shew, valuable at this rate: I graunt, the excessse of this indulgence, doth not so corrupt the just relief, that tender consciences may finde in it, as, to hinder them, to partake lawfully of it's benefit; but sure I am, if my censure be right and true, as certainly it is, men should be so far, from being deceived, by the flattery of carnal ease, either to embrace, or acknowledge it, as a favour, or pursue it, by any active compli-ance requisite for it's accomplishment, that on the contrary, they should look upon the act in it self as a high provocation, against God, a feareful exposing, and opposing of his truth, and under the colour of a pitiful enlargement, and reliefe to tender consciences, a real and designed betraying, of the Protestant interest.

But his Majesty proceeds to declare, *that to the effect, there may be no pretense, for the continuing of Conventicles, he shall from time to time, allow, a sufficient number of places, as they shall be desired, in all parts, for the use of Non-conformists; But for a correction, it is his expresse will, and pleasure, that none presume to meet, in any place, untill, such place, be allowed, and the teacher of that congregation approved, by him: And lest, any should apprehend difficulty, in obtaining, this allowance, and approbation, he further declareth, that*

that the same shall extend, to all sorts of Non-conformists, except Popish-recusants, to whom, he will in no wayes, allow publick places, but onely indulge them, as to the common exemption, from penal lawes, and the exercise of their worship, in their privat houses onely. This being the summe of his Majesties concession, over and above, the release of penal statuts, it were as ill nature, and worse manners, to offer to criticize upon my Princes bounty, as it were folly, to be fain of nothing: And therefore, I shall onely, candidly represent, such things, as do obviously occurre, and cannot be hid: And, 1. It is evident, that there is nothing as yet graunted, but onely a purpose declared, which being in it self alterable, and in the present case, in order to the innocent Non-conformist assuredly elicit, by our forraigne wars, and domestick feares, of what endurance it is like to prove, may easily be resolved: Secondly, it is obvious, that the effect of this indulgence, is presently to cut of from, and deprive all the faithful Ministers, and people, of the benefit of meeting, either in the places where they have hitherto met, or in their privat houses, for the pure worship of God, (for these are the expresse words of the declaration; *To the effect, there may be no continuing of conventicles, &c.* and afterwards, *it is our expresse will and pleasure that none presume to meet in any place, &c.*) until these meetings, be cast in this new mould, and, if the truely tender and conscientious Non-Conformist's, dare not for the feare of God forefak, the assembling of themselves together, nor discontinue their meeting, for worship, till the Court be at leisure, or think it convenient, to make that assignement, or if they should scruple this conveyance, as no doubt, a faithful minister, will be far, from an active compliance, with such an enacted abomination, then, such have nothing to expect, but the utmost of severity; and thus wee see, these bowels, and the tender mercies of this declaration, are unmasked cruelty: Thirdly, the places are to be desired of and first

allowed by his Majesty, and, that this allowance, may be lawfully sought, upon the grounds of that duety of protection, and assistance, which his Majesty oweth to the Gospel, without pleading this dissolute indulgence, I make it no question; but, on the other hand, that this, first, maketh all still depend upon his absolute pleasure, both as to number and continuance, is no lesse evident: yea secondly, this very thing, is enough, to make the whole insignificant; for, many, especially those Non-conformists, who are persons of estate, or quality, will be unwilling to be thus exposed to the view of the Court, as a dissentient party, reachable by law, and moreover, the people, perceiving the increase of popery, and what countenance and encouragement, they have from authority, whereby they are become insolent, and terrible to the people, may begin, to be jealous, that this course is onely taken, to the end they may when met together, the more easily be swallowed up at once, by those popish Cannibals; the things vvhich are past, and the things vvhich are dayly practised, may creat a shrewd suspicion amongst the people, of such a designe, upon which considerations, the assignement of a place by the Court, is very like, to affright men, from following ordinances, or frequenting worship in those places: But, fourthly, the Teacher must also first be approved by his Majesty; and that all the liberty here promised, if it vv ere ten times more, vv ere too dearly purchased, by this surrender, every one that knoweth the sufficiency, and necessity of our Lord's Mission, will easily acknowledge; I graunt, that, every Minister should presume, and be very sensible of his Majesties approbation, & as it were rudenessse professedly to undervalue it, so the power that he hath, over our bodies, may in many cases render it absolutely necessary; but, what is all this, to the previous expresse approbation, here required? Certainly, if our Lord's Authority, be a Minister's compleat warrant, and the duety it layes on, such, as may in many cases oblige him, to beare his Master's name, before Kings and Princes, for a Testimony against them; the subjection

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of the Ministry, that the compliance with this condition, doth import, is, a manifest impingement, against both: I might in the fifth place observe, the extension of this concession, every whit as large, as the foregoing exemption, except in order to Papists, and whereby all the blasphemies, and extravagancies of all other errors, are, not onely tollerat, but offered to be encouraged, but the thing being so obvious, it were superfluous, to offer, to make it more plain. Sixtly, this indulgence is thus further restricted, and cautioned. *If any shall (saith his Majesty) presume to abuse this liberty and shall preach seditiously or to the derogation of the doctrine, discipline or Government of the established Church, &c. Wee do hereby give them warning and declare we will proceed against them with all imaginable severity.* I shall not stand to observe, how there is more here, then an insinuation, that the preacher, in order to his being approved by his Majesty, must previously engage to this forebearance; its but all reason, that he who giveth the Commission, should also give the instructions, set bounds, and limits, to it's excercise, and define the sphere of it's activity, according as his Majesty, (that the world may the better understand, the just extent, and native import, of that headship, vvhich he arrogats over the Church of England) in his letter to the Arch Bishop of York, prescribeth, what doctrines are to be taught, what not: If we will be preachers created by the Court, and Emissaries of this supremacy, we must be Court-parasits and court-pleasers too; but, then let us remember, that wee cease to be the servants of Jesus Christ: But the thing I mainly marke here, is, that by this artifice, they are sure, either to make the indulged betray the cause of Christ, by an unfaithful silence, or expose themselves to what the *all* of that *imaginable severity*, wherewith they are menaced, will amount unto: It's true, the same politick considerations, which have moved them, for quieting of the minds of the people, to mock them, with this shadow, may tye them up also, for a season, from executing, this *all imaginable severity* against such, who will be found guilty, of abusing this favour; yet, considering, how  
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the places must be all of publick appointment, the preachers and people also known, and that those places *must be patent, and free to all persons*, viz. amongst the rest, to a knot of informers, who will no doubt be designed, for each place, faithful men, who will acquit themselves, as the Ambassadors of Jesus Christ, and so carry, in the exercise of their Ministry, as they may have, their Master's approbation, of wel done good and faithful servants, may expect, as the Court is at leisure, and have freed their hands of other work, that they will make such then, after they have slept under the deceitful shadow of this indulgence, while the Court being liberat from feare of any trouble from them, was concurring with those who were destroying the Protestant interest abroad, buy this indulgence, at an after-reckoning, with the lose, if not of life, and liberty; yet of estate; for his May. will be judge, of what is seditious preaching, and praying, &c. Hence, if a faithful Minister, pray for the United provinces, now unjustly invaded, by a Popish Prince, that they may not be destroyed, and that he may not give up, the beloved of his soul, the reformed Church there, into the hand of such an enemy, who would again turn these provinces, into a land of graven images, if also, he should dissuade all who heare him from such a sinful conjunction, and regret before the Lord, as every faithful protestant hath cause, that English-men, professors of the same faith, should be employed, as instruments, to destroy the faith they ought to defend, and that our hands, should be made use of, to shed our brethrens blood, with whom, yea for whom, we should rather die, in the defence of the reformed Religion, and if he should weep himself, and excite the people to weep, because his Majesty is seduced, into this conspiracy, and abandoned to such pernicious counsels, and courses, as at this time, and in this juncture, to concur with a popish party, against a Protestant State, the now visible bulwark, of the Reformed interest, not onely without any just provocation, on their part; but contrary to all engagements and obligations on his: And moreover, if in stead of an unfaithful silence,

a Minister should seek, to deliver his own soul, by regrating, that his Majesty, is not onely left, to break his Covenant with the most high God, in reestablisning abjured prelacy, and superstition; but also, in countenancing, and promoting of popery and idolatry; which as no Godlyman, who considers the times, and what the Israel of God ought to do, dare forebeare for himself; so he dare not, though he should die, for doing so, forebeare, to perswade, beseech, and obtest, the People of the Lord, to pray with all manner of prayer and supplication, that the great God, would appear, to confound the counsels and crush the undertakings, of all the men, and Monarchs of this conspiracy, against his great interest, and precious People: If, I say, a Minister of Jesus Christ, should preach, exhort, and pray to this purpose, would his Majesty hold him innocent? or forebeare to lay hold, on the first opportunity, of dealing with him, as a seditious person, yea a Traitour? and adjudge also all who had been his hearers, as guilty at least of misprison of treason? The case is so cleare, as it discovers plainly, the whole of this indulgence, to be rather a Court-Trape, to catch, extinguish, and crush the faithful remnant, then the least ease, or reliefe, to such as dare not, for feare of the Almighty, forsake the truth, and prostitut the precious ordinances, of Christ, to the lust of an Exotick Lord, or dare not shut their eyes, and be silent, when they see courses taken, declarative, to conviction, of a formed designe, to establish the abomination of popery, and destroy the reformed Religion, at home and abroad.

The last thing, that remaineth, is, the exception of Roman Catholicks, from this allowance, of publick-places; But lest this should grieve them, the former discharge of penal lawes, is not onely repeated, in their favours; but, they are further expressly, indulged, the excercise of their worship viz. their idolatrous mass, and all their other impious superstitions, in their privat houses, and that without any limitation of number or other restriction: I cannot here stand, to expresse, all my just regrad; the mass again restored in England, should no doubt

be as much our deep affliction, as it is the Papists exultation: As for their astrictio<sup>n</sup> to privat houses, I say first, why is not the like favour graunted, to the truly Godly and Conscientious-Non-Conformist, who may very justly scruple to sue for the favour of this indulgence, because of it's conveyance, and upon other momentuous enough considerations? Shall he who dare not for feare of making himself guilty, of *Lesse Majesty* against Jesus Christ, by accepting a favour, which in its conveyance, establisheth, in the person of the indulger, a supremacy onely competent to the Son of God, be lesse capable of this favour, then he who denys this Supremacy, to be competent to his Majesty, and holds it to be proper, to that child of perdition, the Anti-Christ? Yea, he is not so capable of our favour, as our Catholick subjects are: I am sorry for it, but why? What's the matter? His Majesty gives you the reason, of the inequality of this distribution; because forsooth, they are *seditionous conventicles*, and therefore, liberty to worship God in privat houses, must not be permitted to them; but their is no feare of *Sedition* from Papists, (good men!) we understand one another better, then to feare any harme from such bosome friends: well, it may be so, but, it's time, when the Popish party, are thus professedly, the darling of the Court, and all it's conclusions, are so exactly calculat, to the meridian of that interest, for the poor protestants, to remember, the yet recent massacre of Ireland, lest, Brittain drink of the same cup, and become the stage, whereon, this same funest Tragedy, or a more bloody one, be acted over again: Secondly the Papists are confined to privat houses; that is to say, *Whitehal, St James, Somerset-house*, and the greatest, and most capacious palaces in England, while, the poor Non-Conformists, may not make use of their own houses, and are not like in hast, to build upon the lubrick base of this indulgence, other houses: Thirdly, that this restriction is no incumbrance to the Papists, is abundantly cleare; nay, if we advert, to man's strange curiosity, especially after error, the attraction of this privacy, may in all likelyhood, prove more advantagious to  
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their interest, then, if their Godlesse, and ridiculous mummery, were set up to open view, and derision, in Publick Churches: Seing therefore, that the Papists recommended by no necessary, or convenient reason have, (notwithstanding of their grosse errors and superstitions, with the many important and ancient lawes that stand against them being considered) obtained, the greatest benefit by this indulgence, whether the favour designed for them, be not it's, principal motive, and aime, I leave it to every man's discerning? Now what our present conjunction with the French, in an unrighteous war, against the Protestant Stats abroad, with this licensing of idolatry, and encouraging the Popish faction at home, may produce; The Lord in his mercy prevent: And as I have plainly laid out, the insincerity, insufficiency, and uncertainty of this indulgence, in behalfe of conscientious Non-Conformists; so, I am very hopeful, that neither the present allurements, of carnal ease, nor the deceitful confidence, of simulat favours, shall ever make them abandon, that solicitous care, and zealous concerne, they ought alwayes to beare, in their hearts, and be ready to witnesse, when thereto called, for the glory of God, and interests of truth and righteousness, both at home and abroad.

Having thus particularely considered, and weighed the import, of both these his Majestie's declarations, and having found nothing in the one, which upon a sober search, may justify this war, {whereinto we are precipitat; nor in the other, that can quiet, or satisfy the truly conscientious Non-conformist; but on the contrair, much in both, which may fill the mind, of all the fearers of God, with terrour at the apprehensions, of what shall be, the dismal and dreadful consequences, of such an undertaking, against our confederats, and such uncandid dealing with God, I designed in this review to have subsisted.

But yet I hope, every true-hearted English-man, will beare with me, if, while I see the interest of the English nation, dragged at the French heels, and sold to a base subserviency to their aspiring greatness, I take liberty once more, to evince and insist upon what in my first Paper I touched more briefly viz. the

perfect opposition, which this conjunction with the French, hath, unto the welbeing and true interest of the nation: Let it therefore be supposed, that the English Fleet should beat the Dutch, quit off the sea, and at the same time, the King of France with his numerous and potent army, assisted with his Majestie's thousands under the command of his son, should invade, destroy, lay wast, and make desolat, all the places of the United provinces, whereever he cometh, and the Dutch by this defeat at sea, and invasion by Land be brought, to such confusion and perplexity, that they shall neither be in case to set presently to sea again, nor able to encountre this Potent enemy by land, (which is the thing designed and desired, and that, to which all the vigorous endeavours of these confederat Kings are directed) well, let us make this supposition, that their designs are thus far accomplished (though, *graunt not O Lord the desire of the wicked, further not their wicked device, least they exalt themselves*, ought to be, and no question is, the desire of all, who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity through the earth) and that the Dutch in stead of being able to deal any longer or debate with these Kings, by open force of Armes, be reduced to the necessity in this exigent, of making the best, and most advantageous peace they can: Is it to be imagined, they will betake themselves to the King of England, and come under his shadow and protection for shelter, from the French fury? It's true, amongst the rest of our fooleries, whereby we embolden our selves, in this engagement, this is laid down for one, which we judge will not fail us, viz. that we can alwayes make Peace with the Dutch, when we have driven them to desperat distresse, at pleasure; but they are wiser men, then to court us any longer for kindenesse: For, first, the experience they have had of the impossibility of fixing us, or making us stand firme to our engagements, and Treaties, will utterly alienat, discourage, and dissuade from this, where there is a choice: Secondly, his Majestie's having laid down this for a Principle, and the endeavours which have been, to instil it in the minds of such, who could be impressed by Court-suggestions,



ons, that, if England would flourish, Holland must, if not utterly destroyed, yet be reduced to a state of slavery, and bondage, nothing inferiour unto the Spanish yoke, (for the dominion which we affect over the seas, would be stretched to a length, that would know no bounds, or limits, but our own lust and our Courtiers avarice; and what encouragement, they may have to come under the shadow of men of these principles, wise men may judge?) Thirdly the cry of his Majesties oppressed subjects at home, and the consideration, how the Court hath sucked out and swallowed up the substance of the nation, and drained, all its treasures, and yet are still lean (for all they have devoured, hath onely made them more insatiable) will make the Dutch, judge very rationally, unless they were able, to turn rocks, seas, and sand into Gold, they could never by giving, satiate the appetit of the English Court: And while they see, contrair to all honour and true interest, how, a stop is at least put upon the exchequer, which was the onely thing remaining, to preserve the credit of the nation, and leave merchants in some case to trade, they cannot but easily foresee that such will make no bones to suck out all the marrow, and then gnaw the bones, of these provinces: And to all these add, in the fourth place, how they must needs look upon the King of England, as the principal author, and unhappy instrument, of all these imminent and incumbent calamities, and may very rationally conclude, if he had not in this juncture, conspired against them, with the French King, that either, the King of France, would not have undertaken the war, or if he had, that they in an ordinary providence, could have defended themselves, and their just liberties, against all his force: When I say, they must needs look upon the King of England, as the spring & source, of all that calamity they feel, or feare, and perceive his propensnesse, to ruine them, and how that, contrary to all Covenants, Treaties, rational offers of satisfaction, even to pre-

tended injuries, condescensions, & stretches beyond the just exigent, and tenor of any Treaty, or transaction, yea & obligations heaped upon him, in advancing the Prince of Orange, (which, as it was made the great argument, to determine those, who were a little reluctant, to consent to his advancement; so, it made the most rational infallibly conclude, his assistance, upon that advancement, against the French attempts) how, I say, that notwithstanding of all these bonds, of honour, interest, faith, Religion, righteousness, and obligations, he could not so much, as be gained, to an easy neutrality; but, as if, the utter ruine of the Dutch, and their extirpation, or reduction, from a state of liberty, to a state of bondage, had the closest of connexions, with his satisfaction, he, to the prostituting of his honour, leads the way, to the French King, and as if malice and blinde fury, were the sole conductor in this affair, draweth the first sword, and forgetting to consult his own fame, with a pyrrick violence, anterior to all intimation of war, falleth upon the Dutch merchant-ships: As these things put together, with many more of the like nature, must make the Dutch conclude him, the most enraged adversary, and implacable enemy; so, it must of necessity, alienate their mind from him above all mortals: And now upon the forementioned supposition, (which I hope shall never exist) that they must put themselves under the Protection of one of these two, they will certainly be ballanced, towards the French Alliance, as the more placable enemy, the more sure, and advantageous friend: And as it is more then probable to wise men, that the King of France hath conducted the King of England, to such an unworthy breach of Alliance, upon this very designe, to drive the Dutch, if possible, to this sad necessity; so it is equally obvious, how the French King endeavoureth by all means, so to influence the conclusions of the English Cabal, & manage the advantage he hath thereby over the King of England, as may  
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render him most hateful to the Dutch : For having prevailed with him, first, to draw him to this shameful breach of Treaty with them, he driveth him thereafter to make such a detestable attempt upon their merchant-ships; and observing likewise how in his declaration for war against the Dutch (wherein also he will have the King of England to preceed, that he may know the better how to forme his so, as may best subserve his designe) he alledgeth many injuries, and pretendeth to such a dominion over the seas, as is subversive of the liberty of the Dutch, and utterly inconsistent with the prosperity of the Provinces, because destructive of their trade; he then emitterh his declaration of war, wherein there is nothing mentioned or adduced for a cause, save a French flourish, for his *Honour*: Yea he giveth the Dutch to understand, that he doth not envy their greatness, nor designe the prejudice of their provinces; nay on the contrair, that he hath a favour for them, and how all his quarrel is confined to some particular persons in the Government, against whom he hath a displeasure: And perceiving withal, how the King of England hath not onely made himself the common detestation of the Dutch, by this late act of manifest piracy, but as if no bonds, no Treaties, neither regard to his own reput or renown in the World, could be of sufficient weight and value to tye him up, from doing them all the injuries, which his power maketh possible; he addeth to the former violence, the injustice of seising upon and detaining all the merchant-ships, which were in his ports at the eruption of this war, expressly contrair to the termes of the 32 Art. of that Treaty at Breda: The French King (I say) perceiving this, that he may commend his fidelity, clemency, and friendship to the Dutch (as he doth his honour to the World) above the King of England's, as he hath done no act of hostility against them anterior to his declaration; so he graunteth them six moneths time, to remove all their Merchant-ships and goods out of his dominions, without lose or molestation: By all which he seemeth to intimar to the Dutch that

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he is neither so ingrained nor implacable an enemy against them as the King of England, yea there is a tacit invitation couched, even in his denunciation of war, to accost him for kindenesse, with hope of acceptation, (and well may he, for hereby he makes himself master of both, and doth more certainly triumph over the King of England, and ecclipse the glory of that nation, then over the Dutch, and so hitteth the marke he aimed at indeed, viz. *the French honour*) Now as the preferablenesse of the French Alliance, things standing thus, will be demonstrable to the Dutch from their own interest, and advantage, for by this means, though, they may lose somewhat of their former lustre; yet they will easily see, that it is the interest of the King of France, to have them a flourishing People, when they are so much his; so, on the other hand, will any doubt, but all reason of state and Policy, will make the French ready to listen to a proposall of accommodation from the Stats, and abandon the English, as having now served himself sufficiently of them, when they have sweated out floods of English blood and treasure, to rowe his French Majesty to his port: For, first, he knoweth very well, though he have at present debauched the penurious and profligate Court of England, into this conjunction vvith him, against the Dutch; that, yet, the spirit of the English nation can never be debased into the same compliance, with his designes; the prudent part, yea the generality of the nation, retaining still, their noble ascendent over the French, and that antipathy unto them, that, though the Court party are sunk below men, and cease to be Patriots, (not careing for the reput, and honour of their nation, whose renown, together with their own fame, they have shipwrack't) yet, at this very instant, they would, if at all necessitat to have a war, notwithstanding of all the artifice and endeavours of the Court, to enflame them into a rage against the Dutch, with much more cheerfulnesse, alacrity, and readinesse of minde, draw their sword against the French in defence of the Dutch, then be dragged by the Court, to so unrighteous, and

and dishonourable a war, against their friends and brethren: The certain knowledge I say, that the King of France hath, that this is the genius, and pulse of the English nation, to abhorre as death, the holding of the French stirrop; yea, the rational grounds he may have, to perswade beyond debate, that if these very men, whom he hath charmed, by his *aurum potabile*, into an oblivion of their own honour and nation's interest, be once awaked out of this golden dreame, (which doth not imply a contradiction but they may) they will abandon, with a blush at their own basenesse, his interest, and by an after strenuous opposition, seek to wipe off the staine, of so base a compliance, and be avenged upon him for their two eyes, will make him ready, to close with the Dutch, being, together with the world, convinced, that, he hath in this, obtained the utmost of advantage, he could have proposed or promised to himself, by engaging, or rather seducing the Court of England, unto his assistance, and judging, as he hath reason, that he is hereby sufficiently repayed, for all the French Millions, which that Court, hath swallowed up: Secondly, as this will make him readily listen, to a proposal from the Dutch, so, it will make him willingly condescend, to give them easy, and honourable conditions, (though I hope God shall prevent such a dishonour to them) yea, he will argue himself, into a necessity, (contrair to the particular insolent domineering humour of the French) to maintain them, if not in the same degree of honour, liberty, and lustre, yet, in their full strength; it being obvious, that by having engaged them to him, he hath fairely paved his way, to an easy conquest, of this part of the world: The Spanish Netherlands, will fall into his hands, nor will the Emperour be able, to make head against him: Spain also must follow their fate; and poor England, having spent their strength and treasure, to advance him to this greatnesse, must bow their neck, to the French yoke: What is then become of our foolish supposition, that there was no cause for England to feare the French greatnesse? Why?

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France

France (saith the Court) having no nursery of sea-men, we will maintain our dominion of the seas, non will cope, or compet with us, if once we had the Hollander, under hatches; and while we retain our dominion by sea, it were ridiculous to feare, the French by land: But alas, have the French, so blinded the Court, with the dust of their Gold, that they cannot see, one inch, before their nose? Do they not easily foresee, the misery and bondage, they are bringing upon the nation, and how, they are selling the honour, and liberty of their countrey, to it's inveterat enemies? Well, the French have not a nursery of sea-men, comparable to the English: Be it so, but, when the English by their unrighteousnesse, folly, and inconsideration, have driven the Dutch to the necessity of becoming one with the French, have they then no nursery? England knoweth, to it's cost, that Holland hath: And if ever France be in case, to reckon them his (which, as death, is to be deprecate) then, the King of England must resolve henceforth, to quit all his pretensions to the Flage, and be at a point in this, that his men of war must strike, to the French pleasure-boats: the Nation at home, must tremble, at the French greatnesse, their walls the shipping of England, will not then hold him out, he being now in case, to force his passage, thorow them: our forraigne plantations must signify as much to us, as the French and Dutch in a conjunction, will permit, either something, or nothing: Our honour, and renown, which we have had amongst other Nations, must be buried in the gulf of contempt, and lye expiring without hope of a recovery, under the French insolence: who will then compassionat the poor English Nation? Nay, who will not say, that it is a righteous thing with God, since, we who would needs in a blind rage, run upon our friends to ruine them, without cause, should be insnared, in the worke of our own hands, and tumbled head-long in the ditch, which we had digged for others? Who amongst the nations will pity us? Or if our distresse should move compassion, who dare offer to help us?

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Oh poor England, how do thy Rulers, post thee to thy ruine! We have fallen once under the hand of the Dutch, and our disgrace, hath accresced to their glory; but now, we must fall, into the hand of the French, & instead of wearing the flowre de *Luce*, in our scutcheon, the King of France must have our *Lyon*, and *Unicorne* in his: And thus have we debased our selves and entailed bondage upon the Posterity: And, if the Dutch were a People given to revenge, what ever grieve and regrat, their dependance upon France might be to them, yet, they would not onely have this satisfaction, to see those enslaved, who had designed their bondage, and whose hands had been made use of in wreathing the yoke about their neck; but, see themselves chiefly made use of; and maintained by the French, to force the English to serve him: And withal the Dutch should see themselves, freed from the slavish feare of the King of England's vaine pretensions to the dominion of the sea, and set at liberty, to follow their trade without trouble; and as the trade, would then be certainly taken from England, in these parts; so it would be at the French & Dutch their option, whether to raise, and root out, name and thing of all English Plantations abroad.

Though, these be things to be entertained in their possibility, by all the lovers, of Religion, righteousnesse, and the nation, with horror, and detestation, and I pray and hope shall never have any being, beyond what a supposition may give them; yet, he must blind his eyes, and abandon his reason, who will deny the nativenesse of the connexion, betwixt the worst of all these supposed miseries, and mischiefs, and the King of England's engaging, in this war, with the French, against the Dutch: The ruine of the Protestant interest, this day, through the World: The ruine of the liberty, honour, trade, precious and deare concerns, of the English nation; the ruine, of the Prince of Orange his interest. yea the ruine, disgrace, and perpetual infamy, of the actors themselves, is wraped up in, and connected with, this shamefull war: have we not now by our deep Politicks, bravely bowled away the honour of the nation,

vvhile the French, both give ground, and byasse? These are our nevvn unhappy politicks, they tend to this, and may end here, if the Lord in mercy do not interpose, to prevent it: so, that, though men vvere turned meer Gallio's, as to the interest of Christ, and Religion in the World, yea turned enemies thereto; yet, no man representing things to himself as they are, and vveighing these tumultuous transactions, in the ballance of reason, or considering their obvious tendency and import; if he retain the spirit of a true English-man, if he consult the honour of his nation, if he truely love his Majesty, and wish the stability of his throne, but must, not onely look upon himself, as obliged to withdraw, from all concurrence in this war; but interpose in his station, to deliver King and Court, lapsed into this moral madnesse, from the occecation of this fury, whereby, in their indeliberation and rage, they are pulling ruine upon themselves and the nation, by drawing the sword.

I know very well, in all I have said upon this head of *Interest*, I shall, be looked upon as grossely mistaken in my *hypothesis*; because, what I account interest and the thing to be chiefly regarded, and earnestly contended for, hath not a being at all in the Albe of our new politicks; nay, something is substituted in it's place, as inconsistent with, so natively destructive of it: And therefore all these dissuasives deduced from the head of *Interest* as I have stated it, must with the hypothesis evanish as of no consideration or weight, to dissuade from our present enterprize. It will be readily graunted by all, that if the old *Interest* of England, viz. the preservation of Religion, in it's reformation, whereto by the good hand of our God upon us we had attained, the safety and good of the people, the ancient splendor and glory of the Nation, the just freedome and liberty of Parliaments, the desireable harmony betwixt his Majesty and them, to the doing of all things (especially things of such moment, as a war, wherein there is an association with an old enemy

enemy to the English Nation and Interest, and an engagement against our ancient friends, deprecating, with all the submissenesse which became a State, our displeasure, and entreating in a most obliging manner our covenanted assistance, against an enemy, by vvhom, if he conquer them, we are crushed, our posterity also & all our precious interests are exposed unto the danger of utter ruine) with joint consent and mutual satisfaction, whereby the cheerful concurrence of all his Majesty's subjects is assured, by which means also, he himself is beloved and honoured at home, feared and regarded by the nations abroad, the security, satisfaction, trade & treasure of the nation, is ensured & promoted, &c. If *Interest* be considered as comprehensive of, & constitut by these & the like, then no doubt, it must be yeelded, that the considerations evincing the manifest opposition of the present engagement to all these, have a sufficiency of weight, to dissuade from a further progresse in this unhappily begun war, yea perswade a retreat, which were certainly a more glorious victory, because demonstrative to the World, that our lusts and passions had not the ascendent of our reason, then if our sword were bathed and our hands embrewed in the blood of these against whom it is now drawn and stretched out, yea this were a more certain way, to a safe victory over them (I mean an overcoming them with kindness to a cheerful condescendence unto, and a ready compliance with all our just demands) then ever we can expect, as the issue of so unrighteous and irreligious a war. But if somewhat else be substitut in the place of that, which the vviseest have hitherto judged the Interest of the nation, I must graunt, I have missed the marke at vvwhich I aimed, and confesse, that my considerations are not apposite dissuvasives, from vvhat is novv driven. But vvhat can this be? Some may think the thing aimed at, vvwhich with it's seeming desireableness hath dazeled us into this distraction, hath by our procedour so obviously discovered it self, that it can no longer escape observation: It's plain his Maj. aimeth at being absolute and designeth to rule the nation, independently from the advice of Parliaments, which are now

looked upon, rather as an encumbrance to him, in the exercise of his royal government, and an eclipse of that glory, which he judgeth competent for a Prince, then any real support to his royal authority and greatnesse: In plain English, the French Government is affected by our English Court, which we suppose can never be sufficiently illustrious, while there must be such an unbecoming dependence upon Parliaments, for pitiful subsidies and summes to be raised by their order, to maintain our royal grandure: This which hath been so insupportable a yoke, upon the neck of our royal Ancestors, whereby they have been bound to the good behaviour, tyed up, restrained, yea often, to gratify their subjects humor, in order to the gaining their consent for a subsidy, have been necessitat, and compelled to crosse their own royal inclination, and commit a rape upon their pleasure; this yoke, we say, must once for all be burst and broken, and this badge of limited sovereignty, be buried in the final discharge of such Parliaments: The dispose of the Treasure aswell as the Militia of the nation, must be in our own hand, then, and not before, will we be in case, as becometh, to live in royal splendor, to give suteable rewards for signal services, without being obnoxious to have account asked of us, or the question put, how we spend our treasure; to keep under and crush petulant insolents at home, and chastise proud enemies abroad: In a word, *Stat pro ratione voluntas* in state affairs, as we have arrogat it, in Church, matters (which is the more wicked and most daring attempt of the two) is the great *interest*, and that which we will and must have: This is the *darling* and *Diana* of the Court, to which all the other true interests of the English Nation must be sacrificed. If so, the scheme I graunt is changed: But is it credible, that infatuation itself, can fixe us in this resolution? Truly the Universe of reason doth reclaime: The desperatnesse of such an enterprize hath made wise men shut their eyes, upon all probabilities of it's intendment, and stop their eares, at all reports and suggestions which were assertive of the Court's hatching such a cockatrice,

as calumnies; since reason did repugne and abhorre it, as the greatest deviation from it's conduct, and most desperat course, in the undertaker, imaginable; but yet men cannot alwayes shut their eyes, he vvho stoppeth his eare at the reports of another, cannot with the same facility, abandon or give the defiance to his own reason.

It is not necessar for my present purpose, to make a perfect enumeration of all things, which may perswade and put beyond debate, that this is the Court aim; but if it must needs be graunted, by what hath been said, that there is a cleare and undeniable opposition, betwixt engaging in this war with the French, against the Dutch, and all the true interests of England, sacred and civil; then our precipitation into this engagement, giveth a shrewd suspicion, that vve are onely prevailed vvith, and overcome by this consideration, to assist the French against the Dutch; that we as a requital, onely commensurable to that service, may have the French assistance, for raising the foundations of England's liberty, and substituting our ovvn lust, in the place of it's *Magna charta*: This designe hath made all essayes for peace on the Dutch their part insignificant, and hath persvaded above all other considerations, unto this association vvith the French: And truly the things vvwhich at first vv ere onely groaned under, as acts of male-administration, vvithout the suspicion of a further designe, then vvhat the impetuousnesse of our lusts, cileing the eyes of our reason, drove us to, will novv vvhen reflected upon, and collated vvith present practices and future appearances, amase men at the maligne aspect they have upon England's liberty.

I need not involve my self into the labyrinth, of recollecting all things in the Court's procedour and practice, since his Majesties return, unto this present day; or compare them vvith this project, and consider the nativenesse of their tendency to the production of this monster. Let his Maj. carriage, in reference to his Parliament be a little inquired into, and see, if it vvill not put the thing beyond debate. At his first entry; the  
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Parliament which called him home, must be dissolved, and in lieu of another reward for that great service, they are dismissed with this complement, viz. his May; will have them known and honoured to posterity, by the name, of, *Beati Pacifici*: well then, Englands blessed Parliaments have their *period* and *extremum*, at his May: entry to his royal Government: What then cometh next? (it's fit to be silent, where experience speaketh that, which if it were told in it's most sober dresse, might argue the speaker to be prompted by malice) But what could be the cause of this dissolution? It's obvious enough; for whatever excessse of loyalty appeared in hastening home his Majesty, and installing him in the Government, without sufficient security for Religion and liberty, (an error in the first concoction) yet there were many amongst them, who being good Patriots, and worthy Statsemen, could never have been overcome, to a compliance with such a designe, nor to the countenancing of our other extravagancies; and therefore as an unfit tool for our work they must be laid aside, and a new one called. The Court in the mean time perceiving, how vaine expectations of Halcion-dayes, had besotted the nation, into a deep inconsideration of what did belong to it's Peace and Prosperity, and observing, how there were none now to peep or move the wing, against the Court current; But whatsoever the King did, either pleased all the people, or the more prudent were under a necessity in this universal distraction, to dissemble their displeasure, and suffer, without saying or doing any thing to the contrair, dangerous encroachments and breaches to be made upon their liberty, though the purport of these was manifest; forgetting the old maxime *obsta principiis*, &c. The Court I say perceiving this to be the temper, or rather giddinesse of the nation, do not stick at breach of priviledge, in the election of members for the following Parliament, which was so palpable and grosse, as of the bulk, when gathered together, it might well have been said, that in stead of our old renowned Parliaments without a parallel in the world, for free-spirited noble Patriots, we had got a *Court-junctis*, and the privileges of the People,



People, and interest of the nation, put in the hand of those, who would be prodigal & profuse, to a boundlesse, as of the Estate and Treasure of the Kingdome, so of it's more valuable liberty & precious concernes: Now I shall be loath, to trace them in their wilde deviations and odd extravagancies; but the nation must behold with the teare in their eye, (& it may be, some of the instruments of their miserie, being cured of their former Frenzy, & awaked out of their lethargy, by the cries of the oppressed, & the noise of the ruine of the nation, in vvwhose rubbish they themselves are like to be buried, as a recompence of vvwhat they are guilty of, against the honour and interest of their countrey, sigh out their *had we wist*) their liberties and estats in the hand of such, as resolve to run to all the excesses, to which the Court-riot will drive them: There, is without more debat, a surrender of the *Militia* to his May: And though they seem to retain the key of the Nation's treasure; yet it is not so much to lock it up, and keep it in the possession of the just proprietors, as in effect so to squeeze the Kingdome, as if the sole purpose of their convocation had been, to fall upon inventions, and finde out middes, how to extract all the Spirits of the nation, and leave it a *caput mortuum*, wherein they shewed themselves such Masters of Art, that no man can remember, how they drained the Kingdome, to the drieving up of it's substance, and what vast summes were collected and extorted, vvithout judging the determination difficult, vvwhether their monstrous folly in giving, or the Court's prodigious and incredible profuseness, in lavishing out, vvasting and throwing away that treasure, be matter of most amasement? Howvver, as this is sure, if England had been invaded by a forreigne enemy, they might at a lower rate, have bought themselves into a State of liberty, from the conquerours bondage, then vvhat hath been exacted of them, for no other purpose, but to make their bonds strong; so this is also certain, that if the summes collected for the Court, vvwere computed, and the total compared, vvith their present pinching penury, it vvould together vvith the nation, astonish the vvorld, how such a treasure,

sure, in so short time could have been dilapidat; unlesse on purpose shoveled in the sea, or svvept avway by an invisible curse: But the thing vvvhich I mainly marke here, is, the connexion this carrear of Parliament hath, vvith the advance of our projected absolutnesse: The nation finding themselves thus exacted upon, and betrayed to the Court's avarice by the guardians of their liberty, do universally hate the Parliament, as betrayers of their trust, & sacrificers of their *Interest*, to an insatiable lust: Thus, that vvvhich used to be the darling of the People, is become the common detestation of the nation; vvvhich the Court perceiving, and knowing how this did hasten their designe to it's maturity, having set them a going, keep them in motion: The generality being by these means grieved and vexed, some fevv, vvho shared the spoil, onely excepted; and the more prudent and Religious part of the nation, vvho could have digested vvith more patience, the losse of their estats, must, to complet their misery, finde themselves by these mischiefs, vvvhich vvvere framed into lavvs, deprived of purely dispensed ordinances, and robbed of their faithful Ministers, reformation overturned, vaine abjured Prelacy, vvith all it's concomitant plagues reintroduced, thousands of faithful Ministers, driven in one day, from feeding the Flocks of Christ, they and their people exposed, to the implacable malice of the Court, & debauched Clergy, vvhereby the Parliament drew upon themselves, as the enacters & decre'ers of such abominations and cruelties, the hatred of all the lovers of Religion and righteousness: This being brought to passe, some Court-Trappans, are prompted, to deal vvith the fanaticks (as they called them) of several perswasions, some must passe for great friends to the *Presbyterians*, others to the *Independents*, &c. And the work of these is, to represent his Majesty, as very propitious and favourable to men of tender consciences, and that what he did, was not so much from an innate propensenesse to persecut good men, as from a forced and necessitat compliance, with his more rigid and implacable Parliament, from whom, unlesse he went alongs with them, in passing such acts as they were pleased

sed to make, and give way at least to the execution of them, he could not expect that they would appeare zealous and foreward in the supply of his wants: yea, his Majesty was represented as so reluctant to execut these severe laws with rigour, that he was in hafard, by an excesse of lenity, and indulgence, not onely to fall under a mistake with his Parliament, prejudicial to his affairs; but by the same means, to expose his own, and their Authority to contempt; and that these things might not appeare, what they were, indeed pure fictions; some of the leading men of these parties, are admitted to kisse his Majesties hand, and have something with a smile suggested to them, whereby they went away, giddy and intoxicat with vaine expectations. Now it is, *our good and gracious King, but our evil and cruel Parliament*: Thus the subjects, in stead of being tender, as of old, of Parliaments, begin not onely to be little solicitous, what contempt the Court cast upon them; but can behold with satisfaction, these trampled upon, who had trode under foot the honour of the nation: Now men begin to think and say, it were better for us, to be under, and beare with the infirmities of one King, who is placable and exorable, then under the malignant influence of such a conglobat constellation of Tyrants, from the scorplings of whose rigours and rage, the shadow of our Prince, even when he interposeth, is not a sufficient shelter. The Court with much satisfaction observe these male-contents and murmurings, as exactly quadrating with their designe, and laugh amongst themselves, to see the poor people terrified and tremble, at the meeting together of our Parliament, as of a company, who had conspired their ruine and bondage: Well, after they have served the Court, in pillaging the Kingdome, and brought it to poverty (which carrieth alongst with it, a basenesse and lownesse of spirit) and have in a few yeers, squandred away and sucked out, for satiating the court, more of it's substance and treasure, then had been bestowed upon all the Kings, which have reigned in England these hundred yeers (beside the manifold miseries, which during this time, besel the nation, by Pestilence, sword, fire, inundations,

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tions, the decay of trade, &c.) are not onely hated by the nation, as the Vulture which hath torne out it's bowels, gnawed it's noble parts, and having (by dishing up their countrey into a *consume*, for curing the Court of it's desperately incurable leannesse) turned the whole into a complete skeleton, but also despised by the Court, when they can set nothing before them, to satiate their appetit, but the drie bones of a distressed nation, drained of all it's marrow & moisture, are, without the peoples regret, prorogued with a frovne. Yet such vvas the knowvn penury of the Court, as every one began to think, since the extremity of their vvant called for a present supply, that necessity vvould (because they could not call them together before the time appointed) force his May: to dissolve them, and emit vvrits for calling a nevv Parliament, when, behold on a sudden, to the amasement of all men (excepting such vvho vv ere privy to the mystery) there is a nevv prorogation, in all it's circumstances (vvhich for brevity I passe) so declarative of our designe, that the Parliament it self, by vvhose means the nation vv as novv reduced to this miserable condition; must at length avwake, and see themselves laid aside, as a broken vessel, vvherein, he vvho formed them, had no more pleasure; and together vvith them, vve have a fairvvell to Parliaments: In a vvord, our designe must at last set up it's head, and discover it self, things are come to their just maturity: Novv vvise men see, that a vvar vvith the Dutch, and a conjunction with the French, as the sole and proper expedient, to finish what is brought to such ripenessse, is inevitable: If the millions, for vvhich vve are become stipendiary to the King of France, vvill not serve the turn, we will both give the nation, a foretast of vvhat vve intend for them, by shutting the exchequer; and vvhen Parliaments can do no more, make a trial, vvhat the unaccustomed vveight of absolute sovereignty can squise from them; and also furnish our selves, with a sufficiency, for carrying on our designe: If a project of absolute sovereignty be not fairly deduceable from these courses, and if his Majesty be not engaged beyond a retreat

to hold on, vvhen he hath run so great a length, as he knoweth even this Parliament (how much more a new one) would declare against, condemne, seek how to redresse what is past, and effectually prevent such exorbitancies for the future, let wise men judge.

But suppose the designe be, from these and many such things, demonstrable beyond denial, do not the difficulties, yea moral impossibilities, which seem to lie in the way of it's accomplishment, perswade to a surcease, phohibit the attempt, and secure the nation from the feare of so fatal-like an enterprise? Sure, the funest consequences of windeing up soveraignity a pegge too highe, are too fresh and recent, to be quite foregotten; and can these be remembred, without foreseeing what is like to follow upon our graspeing at, an every vvay absolute soveraignity (little different from a Turkish Tyranny) over a free-spirited people, generously emulous above all other Kingdomes, of the glory of a free nation, vvhich hath been worthily contended for, and nobly maintained by our Antcestors? It can neither be hid from his Majesty, nor the men of this contrivance, hovv this cannot be fixed upon and followed, without resolving, not onely to involve the nation once more in a bloody war; but to delete and extinguish all true English-men, without leaving a man, who retaineth, as more valueable then his life, the noble disposition of the nation, unpatient of Tyrranny, because above slavery: Yea, suppose the French King should, in lieu of our gallant souldiers now sent, or rather basely sold to support this Tyranny, and subserve his further designs, after we had destroyed our ovvn subjects, send us over thousands of his French paisants, born under this yoke, to be a seed of bastard-English-slaves, he is not sure but the nature of the soile and Clime might change their quality: But laying aside the desperatnesse of this designe, and the considerations of the cruelties it would drive us to, before vve vv ere so settled, that we vv ere beyond feare of being shaken, doth nothing of danger to the contriver, appeare in the undertaking? The men of this counsel,

cannot be ignorant, that if a war be raised upon this head, it must end in the perfect and final overthrow of one of the parties (and are they invulnerable?) especially, considering, that the subjects are now made sensible, how vain it is any more to trust Court-Oaths, covenants, or any assurance of the like nature, which will, or can be given, and that not onely because of a practical breach of faith; but because, it is become a Court maxime, and a principle in our new politicks, that no Oath, covenant, or promise, given by, or elicited from his Maj. by his subjects, in a time of war betwixt them, binderh him longer, then he is in case, with his own safety, to tell them, it was rebellion to require it, and to make them know, and finde he is able to break it; yea it may be, to make all strong, and free him from the guilt of perjury for doing so, *nulla fides cum haereticis*, may be made use of in it's season.

But these things seem to be digested with us, and as they have been of no weight or merit, to dissuade from the contrivance; so, if they should demurre us in the execution of our purpose, it would argue an irresolution, pusillanimity and lownesse of spirit, whereof we resolve not to be guilty: *Rubiconem trajecimus, jacta est alea*, the stravving of our vway vvith the dead bodies of such insolents, as dare mutter their dissatisfaction, or more manifestly seek to marre, or set themselves to oppose this glorious designe, of pure absolutenesse, is resolved upon, and if vve be necessitat to open our vway vvith the sword, to this domination, vve are sufficiently provided, and in case for it; so that on all accounts vve may promise our selves, either no opposition, or so vveak, as vvill rather encourage (having thereby some colour of justice to cut off at once & for ever, such, vvho dare attempt to crosse our royal inclinations) then be able to advance their opposition, to a making of our enterprize difficult, let be desperat: What should dissuade or divert, where there is nothing of resistance to be feared? for first, the Clergy of the nation having prostitut their Conscience, to serve our lust, that, without more bebate, our royal



royal pleasure is to them the law, even in things sacred, and knowing their dependence upon us, *in esse and operari*, they will be so far from crossing our pleasure in Civils, that we have ensured their assistance, in enslaving the nation; and as they have benumbed their conscience, into an acquiescence to our will, in the matters of God; so we can easily command them, in despite of reason and Religion, to palliat, whatever of rage may be in the prosecution of our designe, with some colour of either necessity or justice. As for the fanaticks, the division which *Julian* the Apostat endeavoured to creat and keep up amongst Christians, *ne unanimem timeret plebem*, is, an easy work for us: Their own mutual animosities, jealousies, diffidence and strivings, give us rather matter of encouragment, then feare: But besides, we have under colour of grace and favour, drawn off, some leading fanaticks, to accept of our pardon, whereby, as the multitude of their old followers, have not the same confidence, to communicat counsels with them, about creating us any disturbance; so, the persons thus decoyed, have more regard to their own safety (knowing how easily we can novv reach them) then either to speake, or suffer themselves to be spoke to, in these matters: And for the generality of the fanaticks, our late *Indulgence* will so far attain it's end, as to charme them into a sopor, whereof we are put out of doubt, by these solemne acknowledgements, which have been made, and thanks vvvhich have been given us, for such an expression of our royal bounty, and clemency; (poor dreamers!) & vvithal, for a perfect security, from the counter-vvorkings of the fevv more restlesse and implacable sort of fanaticks, vve have, by the Ministrie of some of the same Spirit and temper, (for this very purpose, on our part, admitted to our favour) made sure, that nothing shall be hatched amongst them, vvvhich shall not be heard by us, so, as vve may crush it ere it can crawl out of it's shell; seing the persons admitted to this grace, must maintain the credit they have got, by giving us notice, at least when enquired at, of all they know; and as each of these (being persons of different persvasions, and

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because of their old and late grudgings and jarrings, easily emulous of one another's court) will endeavour, to recommend himself unto us, as most worthy of our favour, by striving, who shall bring over most of his party, professedly to accept of our pardon; when we are at leisure to give it; so, they will be careful to commend, and make themselves considerable by their intelligence; for which end, we not onely allow them to entertain their old familiarity, and known intimacy with their party; but we maintain and keep them in case, to have each his instruments, by whom, he may be fully informed, of whatever passeth amongst his old associates: And the jealousy, that each of these two principal agents, hath, that either his court and credit with us, will fall lower, then the other's, if he maintain it not with an equality of service; or that the other might, in order to the making of himself most considerable, reveal some things, not onely of his own party, that dependeth more directly upon him; but of what were a doing or designing also, in the party, and amongst the intimats of the other, will make both very open hearted, in discovering the utmost of what they know: As this, I say, will be the procedour of these persons; so the certain knowledge hereof, will create such distrust and diffidence amongst the more prudent of the fanaticks, as will cut of all communication of counsels upon this head; since they will be jealous, that there may be, in the most select number, some, whose service in discovering whatever passeth, is ensured to either, or both of the two, vvhom vvee vould never daigne to see, if it were not, that with their eyes we might see into the bosomes of their fraternity.

As for the Ancienr nobility and Gentry of the nation, most of them being old or worne out, who would have counted it more honourable to have died in the quarrel, then to have survived the liberty of their countrey, which must be now swallowed up in our absolut soveraignity, and the few who remain, seing the disease desperat, are more like, in their despondency, to chuse, to sigh out the rest of their miserable dayes, in such a lot, as our absolutenesse will carve out for them; then expose them-

selves to certain ruin by appearing to oppose, when there is neither hope nor humane probability of putting a stop to this new settlement: And for the young Nobility and Gentry, can grapes be gathered off thistles? We have not onely secured our selves from their opposition, but ensured their assistance: For care hath been taken, to traine them up, and habituat them, beyond a retreat, to all manner of lewdnesse and licentiousnesse of life; so that morality, is the matter of their scorn, hatred and detestation, as high and unheard of flagitious practices, are the matter of their boasting: Now can it be expected, that such who count it a glory to be delivered from the bonds (or as they judge it the bondage) of morality, will struggle for the liberty of their nation, and contend for the preservation of Religion, especially knowing, that if the nation were again, what it once was, they would either be constrained, to relinquish these wicked courses, to which they have devoted themselves; or be looked upon, and carried towards, as the filth and offscourings of the generation, onely fit for the dung-hill? No, we are sure of these beyond hesitation: As our play-houses have been Accademies for Satan, wherein this young generation of Gallants, have commenced his Disciples, and mancipat their souls to his yoke, blessing themselves in this subjection, as true liberty; so, they have laid aside and lost by the same means, all sense of true honour, vertue, and love for the prosperity & real privileges of their countrey.

Now giving and graunting, there are a considerable number of persons, neither tainted with vice, nor wholly laid aside by the former considerations, whom we can never gaine to a compliance with our designe, yet, we are sure they will not move nor dare to appeare, to prevent or oppose us, in the prosecution of our purpose, seing they know, that upon the least surmise or whispering of this nature, we would pretend a present necessity to go to Armes, and they are not ignorant, how by our providence and foresight, for securing the successe of this undertaking, we have put our selves in a capacity, to sacrifice to the designe of our absolutenesse,

the lives of all who will run the risk of opposing it. And this leadeth me to speake a little to the care that hath been had, and the courses which have been taken, to secure the end, before an open entry was made in the way leading to it: First, all places of trust and power, are put in the hands of such persons, as will by choice and obligation be true to our interest; knowing, that we cannot succumb in the enterprize, but they must sink and be crushed with us: Secondly, we are not onely sure of the assistance of all our loyal and faithful subjects, our bosome confidants, the *Roman Catholicks*, but as they are beyond beleef numerous, by the courses we have taken to encourage them; so they are provided, and in such readinesse to rise, that vvith difficulty they are kept back; and the assurance they have of our being true to our designation, viz *defender of their faith*, and to our Ghostly father's interest, who signalised his son's fidelity, with this title, maketh them as intirely ours, as they know us to be theirs: Thirdly, our new magazine at *Windsore Castle*, our faithful and loyal subject that Irish Papist, vvhom we have made real governour of the Tower (for Sr. John Robinson, is an insignificant nominal; but the lesse significant, the better, when joined with a second, designed for sole significancy) our new fort at *Gravesend* (built upon another pretense) will all serve to keep the city, (if it be thought fit to save it from being burnt the second time) the head of all the insurrection, or trouble we feare, either quiet, or vve vvill be in case to liberat our selves of our feares, by cutting it off; and to guard effectually, against a *may be* of a miscarriage in this enterprize, we have made sure the power of France, whereby we will be easily able, to overpower, what might prove too difficult for us, to overcome by our selves: The great predominant consideration, which hath contrait the perswasion of all the old interest of England, determind us to a conjunction with them, in this war against the Dutch; whose landing we have secured in our cheife Cinque ports; and now the mystery of *Tlimouth* fortification is unridled: Their setting foot on English ground is made

easy,

easy; not onely, because they have our English Fleet to convey them, and one of the chief strengths of England to receive them; but under colour of guarding the coasts against our Dutch enemies; we have raised so many forces, as will serve to welcome our French friends, and they together, will give an opportunity for the rest, who are impatient of a delay, to draw to a head; so that, what with the number of Atheists and Papists we have already within ourselves, and what by their daily encrease (for we expect a flowing in upon England, as a Torrent, the scum of the Popish vermine, out of all nations abroad, in answer to our invitation of strangers, especially, seeing, what we have hinted of liberty and protection to the Popish Religion, in that our declaration, will be very well understood by our sagacious friends abroad, as it is at home known to be a plain declaration of our purpose, to settle Popery, as the publick profession of the nation; from which, nothing hath hitherto withheld us, but want of power) we are sure (I say) with these not onely to make ourselves formidable, to all who would oppose us; but also to be able, to cover almost in one day, the very face of the nation, and cut in peeces at once, all whom we suspect, to be guilty of an inclination contrair to our royal pleasure; and we are sure, the execution of our commands, shall be in the hand of such, who with a tygerish keenesse, will execute our will: What then can appear able to stand in the way, or put us to a difficulty, in effectuating our purpose?

I know the more prudent in the nation, will readily apprehend, when they consider, what a vast treasure the Court hath devoured, and how they have so habituated themselves to this prodigious profuseness, as they may as soon cease to be, as cease to change their way; And when withall they perceive, how, while they are such, that all ways of satiating this boundlesse appetit are impossible (for Parliaments can do noe more; yea this very Parliament, if called together for that purpose, how probable is it that instead of a new stretch to give more, not onely the disgraceful receiving of the French millions

but the Court's meddling with the treasure of the nation, and destroying it's trade and credit, by that stop, without a precedent, put upon the Exchequer, vould be resented by them) that the Court is engaged and resolved to lay them aside, and usurp for the future, a pure absolutenesse: They have created to themselves this necessity: For it is not imaginable that a vvay novv can be found out, besides this desperat expedient, hovv both his Majesties debts shall be payed, and the Court maintained, as it hath been these yeers past; (though vvith much lesse lustre, then the illustrious Courts of England, famous formerly through the World, for their magnificent plenty, sumptuous entertainment, and numerous retinue; vvhen the revenue of the crowvn vvvas scarce the halfe of vvhat it novv is: Neither were these Kings treasures empty, so that the vastnesse of our present yeerly revenue, beyond what former Kings had, with the incredible summes, which have, partly been given, partly exacted and squised from the People, the penury of the Court, while it's bill of fare is abridged almost to a basenesse, make men stand agast and inquire at the wayes, how this treasure is spent? Whether it be hoorded up, as some suspect, or by the vvhirle-vvinde of an invisible curse svveeped avway vvwhich many beleeeve) if any remaine still obstinately incredulous, notvvithstanding of vvhat is said to discover this to be the designe, and hovv, vvhat vve are novv doing, is, in order to the bringing of our purpose to passe, all the evil I wish him, is, that the Court to vvhom he hath so much charity, do not cure him of this distemper, by destroying his ovvn, togethen vvith the nations interest.

There is one thing vvwhich maketh all that's said, for convincing incredulity it self of this Court designe, not onely passe for a groundlesse conjecture, but for the malicious product of some fantastick, & a bold forgery of a petulant male-content viz. That suppose his Maj. if he knew how handsomely to accomplish it, were passionatly desirous to lay aside Parliaments; yet considering what assistance he behoved to have, in dissolving that happy frame of goverment, under which the nation hath flourished so long,



long, to the envy & terror of all it's enemies, yet his Maj. cannot but foresee, how that by making use of such a mean, in stead of attaining the proposed absolutenesse, the crown doth really fall from his head, and he precipitats himself into the ditch of a most base and abominable servitude: For since the instruments chiefly to be made use of, for carrying on this desperat designe, must be the Roman Catholicks at home and abroad; their fidelity and assistance cannot be assured at a lower rate, or upon any other termes, then by setting the Romish Idolatry as the publick profession of the nation; and if so, then his Maj. in stead of an absolut Sovereigne, becometh Rom's Tributary, holding his crown precariously of the Pope: Nor can his Maj. be ignorant how he is not to expect, to be in the same condition of servitude with other Popish Princes; England being more purely the Popes Patrimony then other Kingdomes, Peters pence must be payed in recognition of his superiority, whereby King & Kingdome is debased to hell: This one obvious consideration I say, hath made wise men (though never the wiser for that) judge it impossible, that ever the designe of absolutenesse, could transport his Maj. into such a mistake, as to accomplish his end by this mids, there being so close and cleare a connexion betwixt turning the nation into a province, the Prince into the Pop's deputy or substitut, & setting of Popery as the profession of the nation: It's true all persons of understanding in the nation, did with surprise & amasement behold how Papists were encouraged and countenanced, how their profession seemed to qualify them for places of trust, and commend them to our favour; nay good men behold with grief and horreur, how the favours heaped upon the Irish Rebels did amount to the height, of more then an interpretative owning, of that horrid massacre in Ireland, whereby the guilt of so much innocent blood is brought upon the throne, and his May. exposed also by this, to share, in all the wrath and vengeance, which shall fall upon the head of of the shedders of that blood, as a return to the cry of the souls under the Alter, from him who not onely maketh inquisition for blood, but in whose eyes the death of his Saints, is so precious, that he engageth

to give them blood to drink, who have shed their's; yea it hath added astonishment to their horror, to see popery so publickly professed in Ireland, that the Popes *Primas* is as publick there, as his Majesties; nor are their scooles lesse parent, or their meetings for their idolatrous worship lesse publick; but whither, what hath been lately done in England, doth lessen or heighten the amasement, is a question: Every one thought he had so much reason to disbeleieve a designe of settling Popery, that the nation was abused into a supine negligence & deep security, even while they looked on & saw it excrese, to the contemning of law, & overtopping of all other intersts; insomuch that men for feare (forsooth) of losing the repute of wise and prudent, fooled themselves for company, either into a sameness of apprehension, with such masters of reason, as judged this enterprise, on the Court's part, the height of folly, and the jealousy of it in others, a shallownesse of apprehension at best; or dissimulation of their feares, vyhich hath been plagued vvith a vvretched regardlesse, hovv it vvent vvith the interest of Christ; and if novv and then they vvère pulled by the eare, and bid look about them, ere it vvvas too late, by such as compared the courses taken, to propagat that abomination, and promote the Popish interest at home, vvith his Majesty's carriage vvhen abroad, hovv he remained inexorable notwithstanding of all entreaties, nor could he, by the most ardent and earnest beseechings of the protestants, be overcome to a compliance with their desires, of being present at their worship, frequenting in the mean time the mass, in Paris, Brussels, Cullen, &c. Which with other things, was the ground of that assurance we had from abroad, that his Maj. had renounced the protestant Religion, the Papist's boasting everywhere very openly that his Maj. was turned Catholick, and making use of it as an argument to prevail with others, whom they endeavoured to seduce into the same abomination: The Protestants vvere grieved and sad at the certain persvasion and foresight of vvhat would follow, (though we were fooled into a fearelesse) to the prejudice of the reformed

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Religion, upon his Majesties restitution; yet they would reason themselves into an obstinatenesse in their first opinion, and though they neither did, nor could deny his Majesties carriage abroad, to have been such, nor yet shut their eyes upon what they saw acted at home; they would still, graunting all their monitors premisses, which, being matters of fact, were manifest by their own evidence and light beyond a denial, reject their inference, and upbraid for the brutishnesse of such a feare, seing such a settlement of popery, was inconsistent vwith policy, and utterly destructive of his Majesties interest; supposing that whatever favours he heaped upon these unhappy men, would not excrese to the prejudice of that, but be confined within the limits, vvhich his own honour, (to say nothing of what the Oath of God required of him) and the liberty of the nation, should have set to his liberality, yea for confirming themselves in this their tenaciousnesse, they would both give and graunt (but without ground; for he who will be false to the true and living God, vvill readily be true to a false; because this is inflicted as a part of their punishment, yea a dreadful part and plague it is upon such as make Apostasy, that they should be mad upon Idols) that his Maj. in his exile and distresse; might not onely, in order to the engaging of the Popish party, to endeavour his restitution, and secure a maintenance to him while abroad, frequent their mass, and openly decline the protestant assemblies and worship, but had besides, given the Pope all possible assurances, of enslaving the nation to Idolatry, upon his restitution, and in the highest and most ample formality, had renounced the Protestant Religion (being indulged for the interim, upon a politick designe, and in order to the more safe and certain performance of his promise, to retain in his family the English service-book; whereof one said well, that *it was an ill said mass*) giving, I say, and graunting all this, yet the evidence his Maj. hath given, that with him it is a light matter to break covenants, Oaths and most solemne engagements, whereby his own soul, together with the souls of the whole nation,

vvere most explicitly and formaly bound to the most High, as *alieri parti contrabentit*, under the pain of his dreadful displeasure, when the adherence unto, or the performance of these vovves, seemed to interfere with his other designs, or were apprehended (o sad mistak, vvhether the error exposeth to the ire of him, who cuteth of the Spirit of Princes, and is terrible to the Kings of the earth) to be inconsistent, with his other interrests; this I say, gave them ground to over-perswade themselves, and because they would have had it so, flatter themselves into the beleefe; that such promises would not be looked upon as obligatory, when they were discovered to be so manifestly destructive, not onely of all the deare and precious concerns of his subjects, but, to conviction, a total eclipse of Royal Majesty; being really the debasing of his person, and prostitution of his imperial crown, to be trampled upon, and trode under foot by that Romish Beast.

But if I can do no more, for awaking such to weep over, what their security, and the dreamings of the nation, make now almost *humanitus impossibile* to prevent; (onely with God all things are possible) I would desire them, in the first place, to consider, that for Kings to be blindfolded and hurried headlong into this slavery, is nothing else, but what we have expressly foretold by the H. Ghost; and is it any thing else in him, to follow the drove of those, who, in like manner, have over the belly of the same perswasions to the contrair, shut up themselves in this house of bondage, and subjected their consent to the dominion of this beast, this Mistresse of witchcrafts, who entiseth the Kings of the earth, to commit fornication with her, and having made them drunk vvith the cup of her abominations, vvhich she propineth them, they submit their neck, to take on her yoke, & give their power, to maintain her Grandure, in opposition to Jesus Christ, whose servants are slaine by their svword, to gratify & satiate the cruelty of this scarlet coloured vvhore drunk vvith the blood of the Saints and Martyrs? Yea the Kings of the earth, are so bevvitched into a complacency with her fetters, &

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intoxicat vvith her cup, to that height of madnesse, that they vvill vveep & cry, Alas, Alas, at the sight of her smoak & burning (soon may he and the rest of the Kings of the earth see it, & vomit out at their eyes, the satisfaction they have taken, in shedding the blood of the Saints; if nothing else will be a curbe to their rage, against the Lord and his servants, & cure them of this madnesse, he is the Lord who will hasten it in it's time, and make her & them finde, that the Lord who judgeth both, and avengeth the blood of his servants, is strong, when he taketh vengeance, and meeteth them not like a man) But secondly, I judge, as to us, it would be more prudence and Religion too, to be lesse confident in our politicks, not onely because of the expresse prediction of this infatuation; but when we consider, what ground there is of feare, that his Majesty, in the righteous judgement of God, be abandoned to the advance and settlement of this abomination, contrair to his own and the nation's interest; these revoults from, these insurrections and rebellions against, the most High, these deliberat and shamefull breaches of solemne Covenants, and sacred vovves, whereof he hath made himself and his dominion guilty, may rather make us wonder, if the Lord do not leave him to followv these courses, then to see him given up unto them: Is it not a righteous thing vvith God, since he hath broken his Covenant with the most High, wherein as he was bound to nothing, but to walk with God in his Kingly capacity, and rule for him; so in the same Covenant, his subjects in a just subordination to the Lord & his Christ, were solemnly engaged to obey him, to be religiously tender of his honour and interests, and himself, together with the world, knoweth, that it is to this Oath of God, whereby his subjects found themselves obliged in Conscience, to endeavour his restauration, that he oweth his crown and peaceable restitution: I say, is it not a righteous thing vvith God, since he hath broken such a Covenant, whereof he hath reaped so much advantage, to leave him to such courses, and the making of such confederacies, as shall make the world see, feare and tremble, at the revelation



of his judgments, because of a broken Covenant. It were as superfluous for me, to offer the nation an account, of the manner and methods followed, in breaking this Covenant, as it might seem to favour of a malicious designe, if matter of fact were represented, with some of those most obvious aggravations, which made the sinfulness of it reach heaven, and is like to cause God remember this iniquity: But sure each soul, who hath not sinned away all conscience, of the sacred obligatoriness of Oaths and covenants, especially these, made, not onely before the most High as a judge, but vvith him, as vvith the party contracting, cannot remember, with what solemnity, this covenant was entered into, and vvith vvhat insolence, rage and spight, it hath been throwvn in the fire, and trampled upon, and made treasonable for any to asserť it's obligation; and hovv, to this day, vvhosoevver dare not for feare of the Almighty, do the same abominable thing, which his soul hateth, maketh himself an offender, and exposeth his person to the lash of the mischiefs, framed into a law, against the asserťers of this obligation; (o daring insolence against God, and base ingratitude against men, thus to destroy the men, who were the sole instruments of restoring his Majesty!) But, as he must perceive, the contrivers and framers of these lawes, abandoned of God, to vvalk in the vvayes and imaginations of their own evil heart, so he needeth not wonder, if persons so judicially left, to courses, destructive of their eternal welbeing, and the onely valuable interest of their soul, be also in the righteous judgement of the Lord, left to such courses, as are truely destructive of their temporal interests; the not receiving of the love of the truth, especially the opposing and persecuting it, may not onely be punished, with a being given up of God to strong delusions, to beleieve a lye, that they may be damned; but also to a being given up to strong delusions, to beleieve a lye about all their worldly interests and concerns: O, that it might be given unto his Maj. as his mercy, which were a favour, every way preferable to the Empire of the Universe, and



and as the mercy of this poor nation , to remember his own evil vwayes , and to turn to the living God , that so he might turn away from the fiercenesse of his anger , and then establish his throne , upon the solid base of Religion and righteousness.

Thirdly , let such over-wise politicians , awake out of this dreame , to consider , not onely , the facility of this establishment , but how it is so really and upon the matter already settled , while we sleep ; that the prevention , of a formal establishment , seemeth onely in his Power , who laughs the wicked out of their projects , and bringeth the counsel of the heathen to nought ; to say nothing of the unmasked confidence , and plain peremptorinesse , wherewith the Popish party amongst our selves , have , of a long time , boasted *intermundo* , how their plot was so laid , that it could not misgive ; nor of their insultings abroad , upon the same grounds of assurance : Let it be considered , first , to what number , strength and Power , the Popish party amongst us , is arrived , partly by the secret encouragement , partly by the open countenance they have had , since his Majesties return : As for their Power and prevalency at Court , the current of affairs is demonstrative , that they are the only cabal , who spirit and animate all our motions ; for it had been impossible else , ever to have engaged and involved us , in this war against the Dutch , in whose designed overthrow , the destruction of the Protestant interest is intended : And as to their number , besides the swarmes of those locusts which cover the face of our Court and city , and overspread the whole land , and that inundation , which , like a torrent , floweth in upon us from forraigne parts , as if Rome had opened it's Sluce , to drown us with that deluge , or rather the dragon had cast these waters out of his mouth , to cause the woman thereby to be carryed away , and swallowed up , which lately had brought forth , the man-child of such a reformation : Is it not found by experience (*for regis ad exemplum totius componitur orbis*) that , not a few persons , of quality , are gone over and seduced

into the Romish perswasion, of whom, no such thing was feared or apprehended; insomuch that he who is not tainted himself with this wicked contagion, beginneth to doubt, what person of quality, may be concluded, to be really fixed in an opposition to this wickednesse; there seemeth to be nothing, but a fit opportunity, vvanting, to make an incredible discovery of persons, vvho yet think it convenient, to goe under the name and disguise of Protestants: And as men vvho knowv the Romish principles, and hovv ordinary it is for them, to tranforme themselves into every shape, that, while appearing like Angels of light, they may with lesse observation, and more certainty, carry on their work, and establish their Kingdom of darknesse, may very rationally judge that they are numerously lurking, under the garbe even of the manifold and various perswasions, which seem, in their principles & practices, most remote from, and opposit to Popery; (I need not mention, how they svvarme amongst, and are served by our Episcopal Clergy) so it is very vvell knowvn, in vvhat numbers, they have hid themselves, and hatched their vvickednesse, under the dottage and disguise of *Quakerisme*; insomuch, that sober and discerning men, from the consideration of these mens principles, their desperat enmity, especialy at the Stanch Protestants, and more eminently godly Non-conformists, together with the good understanding, which is between the leading persons of that party, and the Court, do rationally inferre, if ever there be an opportunity for these men, to discover what they are at bottome, the bulck of them, will be found, vvith the utmost of irrational and brutish fury, to adjoine themselves to the Popish party, or rather discover, hovv being already their's in heart, they onely judged it most convenient to dissemble, and lurk under this shape, till vvith most advantage to Popish Idolatry, and danger to the Protestant interest, they might appeare, in the true shape of the locusts, vvho are like horses prepared unto the battel, Rev. 9, 7, 8, 9, 10. having for their King and Captain *Abaddon* or *Apollyon* 8, 11.

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But then as their number, may give the facility to this settlement, an obvious probability; so it is more assured from their posture, and present readinesse for action, and warlick capacity for putting all the mischief that is in their heart, in execution, and with a rage peculiar to the dragon's followers, runing down whatever would offer to stand in their way, or oppose this settlement. I need not here repeat that which is already hinted, what of our visible military strength, is in their hand, and how our forts, forces, armouries, Magazines, with all manner of warlick-provisions, seem to be destined and devoted to that service: But have not wise men, with feare and amazement, observed, how, that since his Majesties return, the Popish nobility, gentry, yea to the most ordinary of the common people of that perswasion, from the one end of the nation, to the other, have, being prompted and put on by these restless ring-leaders, the Priests and Jesuits, been preparing their slaughter weapons; so that he vvho considereth their present capacity and posture, cannot escape this conviction; that there was never in England, so numerous, and so well appointed an army, lying ready at a call, as there is, at this day, of Papiists, whose blind rage against God and his truth, will prompt them to the height of cruelty, against all ranks, sexes and ages; hence are these dayly boastings at home, of apprehended impossibility of the misgiving of this settlement, and these insultings abroad, at it's certainty, the Papiists not standing to say, that novv, they see no rub in their way, if the United provinces were once ruined.

Secondly, the difficulty of accomplishing this their wicked designe, will evanish, if these two be further considered; first, how the persons of quality in the nation, are utterly debauched, (for, Alas, they who are chief, are chief in all abominations and unexampled impieties) especially the young Nobility, and Gentry; secondly, what a constant and known transiion there is, from Atheisme & all Profanity, to Popery, the mother and nurse of all abominations in practice: He, I say, vvho considereth these

these things, vwill be so far from expecting an effectual opposition, to the settlement of Popery, from a generation, vvho seem rather, to have been brought forth and educated in the Stewes of Rome, then borne vvithin the Pale of the visible reformed Church, that he vvill conclude, a liberty to live as in the suburbs of hell, vvill make them vvithout difficulty, profess themselves the Children of that mother, vvhom they do so perfectly resemble: Will these, vvho can glory in being beasts, and boast themselves of their prodigious wickednesse, these, who in the whole of their way, carry, as if they had nothing in them, above the swine, having buried in that dunghil and pudle offensive delights, wherein they wallow, the consideration of their immortal souls, contend for the faith once delivered unto the Saints, or resist unto blood, striving against this wickednesse, even when under the countenance and encouragement of Authority?

If any will persist, in his obstinat incredulity, when his Majesty's indulgence is (after all the other favours he hath heaped upon them) extended, to the setting up of their idolatrous worship, throughout his dominions, that the introducing of Popery is not designed, and that there is nothing, in this our conjunction vvith the French King, against the Protestant Stats, declarative of this purpose, or continue impersvadable of a possibility to compasse it, he is like to be knockt in the head, for a cure of this distemper, and may be certainly concluded, by puting far away the thoughts of such a day, to be given up, that he may be swept away, in this dreame, to a spirit of deep sleep and delusion: If we be men, and have not so mancipat our reason, that no reasoning will be prevalent to bring us to our right minde, we cannot deny a conclusion, inferred upon such premisses: But withal; if we be Christians, and add to all the above adduced evidences, that both this is upon the heart of adversaries, and a competency also, yea overplus of power in their hand, to effectuat it, the consideration of our sin, and wrath-presaging security; we may with trembling,  
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entertain our selves, with these thoughts and fears, that God, in his righteous judgement, because of our abuse of his glorious Gospel, and impenitence, under most cleare and crying calls to repent, and receive instruction, lest his soul be seperat from us, be about the taking away of his Kingdome from us, and giving it to a nation, which will bring forth the fruits thereof, and render them to him in their season; and because we have not loved to walk in the truth, he deprive us of *that* truth, and in taking away his candlestick, write our sin, and his displeasure upon our Punishment: And here, I cannot forbear to tell, how with feare and anxiety, I have heard some of our good Ministers, tush at the expressions of their brethrens feare of a designe to settle Popery, as if the thing were a pure impossibility; but I judge, they did so, rather because they would have it so, and partly from a peece of inadvertency; then from the due & serious weighing, both of what we have done to deserve it, and what the adversaries, are designing and doing; for, if these were represented to us, as nothing should be found, in the dispensations of God, so nothing in the disposition of his own People, or of his and their adversaries, which would not presage sad things, yea minister matter of terrour, at the thoughts of this very thing.

But without insisting, by a superfluous deduction or enumeration of particulars, further to demonstrat these things which are past all peradventure, with them, vvho vvill be at the pains to reflect on vvhat is past, and set, or suffer themselves to understand, the genuin sense and true import, of vvhat they novv heare & see acted, I shall (as the thing aimed at in the whole of this discourse) shur up all in a word or two, with a more direct reference to what I humbly judge, to be the duety of all the persons in the nation, who desire to be approved of God in such a day of triall, temptation, rebuke and blasphemy: And first, do not these things, my brethren, say, that now it is high time to awake out of sleep: Let therefore the consideration of what we see acted and aimed at, at home, and the joint tendency of the tumults and combinations

nations abroad, drive us out of our dreaming security, to consider in great seriousness, what danger the work of God amongst our selves, and throughout the world, is in; shall we sleep as do others, while his precious interests and People are in such hazard? shall the Lords voice be crying to the city, to the countrey, to the nation, to all the Churches of Christ in the earth, and shall not we be so wise, to see his name, and understand the language of this his terrible rod, held over our head, and the designe of him who appointeth it? It's high time to awake, when we are liketo sleep the sleep of death, if we sleep long.

Secondly, it is not every inquiry into the emergents of the present day, or observation of the sad posture of affairs, that will prove us to be men of understanding who know the time; If we could dive into the depth of all our enemies secrets, and make a perfect discovery of all their desperat designs; yet unlesse we consider the things, which are like to overwhelme us in their procuring cause, unlesse we set our selves to search out the accursed thing that is with us, and what are the national, yea personal provocations of his sons and his daughters, for which he is like to give up the dearlie beloved of his soul, into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of such as hate them with cruel hatred, all is lost labour.

It would draw me to a length beyond my designe, to reckon up in order our provocations, or represent them with their high and hainous aggravations, time would fail for such an undertaking; who is sufficient for this thing? we may, with great certainty, say, upon a very overly search, that our wickednesse is great, and our trasgressions infinit; it's well for us, they want this of simple infinitnesse, that they can be swallowed up of infinit mercy: But there seemeth to be some special provocation, comprehensive of all the rest, pointed at by these manifold and multiplied dreadful calamities, under vvhich this poor nation hath been crushed, and by all these more formidable things, vvh whereby, utter destruction of our persons, posterity, and of all our interests, both sacred and civil, is further threatned; this



Is the thing, for which he is mainly contending, and this is that dangerous enemy, that domestick enemy the destroyer of the Church and Nation, after which our inquiry should be; and having discovered this enemy, if we would have Peace with God, even that Peace which passeth understanding, peace in life and death, Peace in our borders, and on the Israel of God, we are not to let him, when found, go in Peace; a revenge here, vvith the height of hatred and indignation, is not onely lawfull, but in order to the preservation of soul and body, Church and Kingdome, Religion and liberty, simply necessary, and indispensibly duety, If vve do not search this out, he vvill seek out our vvickednesse till he finde none, and then vvoe unto us; or having found it, if vve make light of the matter, then we engage him to let us know, that it is a bitter and an evil thing that we have forsaken the Lord our God, and that his feare hath not been before us; if we would have his eye spare, our's must not: But what may this Provocation be? I must professe my self helped in this inquiry, by calling to minde, what an eminently faithful Minister of Jesus Christ said, preaching at a fast upon our anniversary day, kept for the burning of London; after he had insisted upon many sins, which might be pointed at by such a remarkable stroak; but, said he, the strangenesse and stupendiousnesse of this judgement, seemeth to point at some one sin, which is by the head and shoulders taller then all the rest; a judgement, the like whereof was never in the nation, seemeth, to point at a provocation, never before in all it's circumstances, nationally committed; what can this be? Truly, said he, we need go no further to finde it out, here it is; God burnt, or permitted in his anger this City to be burnt, because in it, by an order of King and Parliament, (*horresco referens*, be astonished O heavens at this) that solemne Covenant, entered into with the most high God, about things which had the most cleare connexion with his glory, and direct tendency to the advancement of the Kingdome of his Son, in the nation, and in the souls of men, wherein also the temporal, aswell as the eternal welfare, of each and all the persons

contracting vvith the Lord God, (as his Maj. vvho ovveth his  
crovv and establishment to it, may say) vvvas provided for, and  
secured; even this Covenant vvvas burnt in our city, by the hand  
of the common Hangman; this, said he, is a punishment in it's  
greatnesse and strangenesse, some way proportioned to the sin  
pointed at, whereby it vvvas procured: He spake like a *Seer*, and  
one who had the minde of Christ, that said it: O that all mi-  
nisters of the nation, spake the same things, at least on those  
dayes, appointed for weeping between the porch and the alter;  
and that all the professing people of the nation, who have come  
under the bond of this Covenant, might, in order to a right  
mourning before the Lord, be like minded! However, in this  
discovery I subsist: It was fit; it was an act of holy righteouf-  
nesse in the judge of all the World, that the nations abroad,  
who had heard of the burning of this Covenant, and had ob-  
served, how, in this, our rage against God, his vvork, way  
and People, had reached unto heaven; by which act also, he  
being the great and glorious party contracted with, we gave  
him, with all imaginable fury and formality, the defiance,  
should also heare, hovv, this glorious Lord God, thus dis-  
pightfully and däreingly provoked, had burnt that City, and  
sent as it vvwere fire dovvn from heaven upon it, to consume the  
place, vvhere such a prodigious vvickednesse had been com-  
mitted. Truely, my brethren, it concerneth all of us, in this  
day of his contendings with us, and in this yeer of controver-  
sies, to call to minde a broken Covenant, and a burnt Cove-  
nant, vvhereby, vve, our King, our Parliament, and the  
vvhole nation, stood unalterably engaged, to make our selves  
happy in holinesse, in vvorshiping the living God, according to  
his ovvn vvill, and in walking before him, in our particular  
stations and relations, like the vvorshippers of the true God,  
vvwhose main designe in the World should be, the adorning of  
his Doctrin, and shewing forth his vertues in all things: This Co-  
venant, I say, which bound us to our own blessednesse, in binding  
us to the good behaviour towards him, was broken, and these  
cords

cords were cast away from us, this pale, whereby we were onely hedged up, from falling into everlasting burnings, was plucked up: Now Brittain, now England lay it to thy heart, for this, the hand of the great God hath smitten, for this thing, it is still stretched out: Will we not take warning? will we harden our selves against him, & prosper? May not the things, which have overtaken us already, make us know, that it is a feareful thing, to fall into the hands of the living God? Oh, inconsideration hath hardened us into impenitency, and ripened us for judgement! Will nothing awake us, till the terrors of God take hold on us as vvarter, and a sudden tempest of indignation, steal us avay in the night? It vvill be too late then, to think of fleeing out of his hand, when he hath begun, to cast upon us, and not spare, when he hath vvhet his glittering svord, and his hand hath taken hold of vengeance: Dreadful may the expectation of our hearts be, in the consideration of the things, vvwhich, for this wickednesse, are coming, if repentance prevent it not; our not having mourned for this abomination, our sitting to this day, with vvhole hearts, beside the matter of so much sorrov, may make us meditat terroure least he tear in pieces & there be none to deliver.

Let us consider, what judgements and plagues folloved upon the avouched and enacted breach of this Covenant, that vve may know, how he hath contended, and will contend for this, if vve return not: In the first place, there is no man, who is not under the plague of spiritual occecation; nay, no man vvho retaineth so much of morality, as will distinguish him from a beast, but if he vvill consider the practice and conversation of the men, vvho framed this mischief into a lavv, yea and of all vvho rejoyced in that day, and said, Aha, so would vvee have it, this is the day we looked for, we have found, vve have seen it; but it must extort this testimony from him, in despite of all palliatings, and covering vvith those coverings, vvwhich are not of his spirit; that since that day and time, never vvvas there a race of men, never vvvas there a generation, more remarkeably given

up of God, so vvalk in the wayes of their ovvn heart, & that is hellward; as there were never men, who have more manifestly declared their sin as Sodom, or have been lesse solicitous to hide it; so there was never a Nation, never Princes, never People, who might have been more justly expostulat with, in the same terms, that his People of old were upbraded for their wickednesse, Is. 1. 10. *Hear the word of the Lord ye Rulers of Sodom, give ear unto the law of our God ye People of Gomorrah:* As never People did cast off, so blessed and honourable a yoke, with so much malice and dispight; so never was there Nation or generation, who did more advisedly and deliberately take on Satans yoke, seting themselves to vvork wickednesse in the sight of the Lord; inso-much, that we are become a by-word, a hissing, & an abhorrence, as the very border of wickednesse, for our prodigious, & unheard of impieties, to the Nations about us: Oh, whither, since the day of our breach of faith with God, have we caused our shame to goe? We have spoken and done evil as we could, and as if we had raked hell, to find out new methods of sinning, we have surpast the deeds of the heathen; and as we had been onely delivered, to doe all these abominations, so vvith a displayed banner, have vve fought against God, glorying in wallowing in the very kennel of hell, boasting of vvearing Satan's black colours, and thinking it onely manhood and gallantry, to fight under his banner: Let the records of former times be searched into, and let the practice of this generation, be compared with the greatest, and most universal vvickednesse, vvhich at other times had overspread the Nation, and I am confident impartiality must say, that since the day of our solemne revoult from our svvorn subjection to the most High, Satan hath been let loose more manifestly, to open as it vv ere the very fluce of hell to the droyvning of the Land, vvith a deluge of profanity, even after that the knowvledge of the glory of the Lord, especially upon our entering in that blessed Covenant vvith him, had covered the land, in a good measure, as the vvaters cover the sea: From that day forevvard, Alas, did the Lord poure out his plagues, upon the hearts of the men of that

conspiracy ; so that he who did run , might have read this engraven upon their practice , that as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge ; so God had given them over to a reprobate minde , to doe those things , vvhich are not convenient , being filled vvith all unrighteousnesse , fornication , &c. After they had broken Covenant vvith him , they added , this iniquity of burning it , to that sin , proceeding from evil to worse , which had more of displeasure in it , then if they had , upon passing this law , been stricken dead with a thunder bolt from heaven ; for this was to be left , to act so , and doe that wickednesse , vvhich being considered in it's complexe , and with all it's circumstances , had never been done under the whole heaven before , let be in the Nation ; ( I graunt the the like was acted in our neighbour Nation of Scotland , where the *causes of wrath* were burnt , containing an acknowledgment of sin for the breach of this Covenant ; but as this was an act of the same abused power ; so it was of a piece , with this monstrous impiety ) so that I may very rationally doubt , if ever there was , a more solemne and acceptable Sacrifice offered unto Satan , upon the earth , then to have the Nations Engagement with God , so opprobriously cast into a fire : I know , all the ten Plagues of Egypt , to a gracious heart , who looketh upon sin as the worst of evils , if they had together fallen on the Nation would not be remembred in one day , with this cleare and undeniable evidence of the displeasure of the Lord ; that the Nation should be left to commit such a wickednesse ; Satan who had fled seven wayes before the fire of that zeal , which was found amongst the people of the Lord , in the day when they entered into this Covenant with him , & tooke on them these vvowes , knew well , that now a throne would be erected to him , & that he should without controul , exerce a soveraignity in the Nation , & we have seen it so : How , Alas , hath he since that day , exerceed as a Prince a dominion ? & how hath that spirit , wrought in the children of disobedience ?

But secondly , because the generality did not observe , this dreadful evidence of his displeasure ; and were not sensibly

sibly affected vvith the vvrath, that vvvas vvitnesseed against men, by leaving them to poss in the vvayes of perdition, and run according to the drivings of Satan; he tooke other vvayes, to make the most stupid of the nation sensible of his anger from that day; to say nothing (vvhich yet speaketh the thing so distinctly, that idiots may understand it) of disappointment of our hopes, and blasting of our big expectations; for vve dreamed of nothing, but, upon his Majesties return, that vve should be the head, and all other nations the tail, that vve should then flourish in trade, and increase in treasure and strength, to the suppressing and overawing of all, who would offer to compet with us; now in stead of this expectation, wherein we blessed our selves, and whereof we boasted, as if already arrived at our hoped for harbour, our substance is consumed, there is a moth in our Estat, he bloweth upon what we had, and bloweth it away, we lose our flesh and fatnesse, our mirth is turned into mourning, and our organ into the voice of them that weep, the whole nation filled with murmuring and complaints of penury, and, which is a prodigy, the very Court that eat up all, cryeth out, my leannesse my leannesse: To passe these things, I say, without insisting upon them; let us, by a few crying evidences, remember, how God remembred this iniquity, and visited us for this sin, with judgement: And because, England had never nationally so dared him to his face, as in his own sight, in the sight of Angels and men, to burn that obligation by a decree; wherein, the nation had obliged themselves to be his, to be no more their own, to be no more at the dispose of others, but in a due subordination to him as supreme; he giveth order, to a destroying Angel, to fall upon that City, where this wickednesse was decreed and perpetrated, and then the chief Actors must flee for it, and seek another seat and city; I need say no more of this, but as never Prince, never Parliament, neither the Nation or City, had been guilty of such outrage, and Rebellion against the Lord. so never did plague rage in the same manner, nor did the destroying Angel get a command to put up his

svyord,



sword, till such heaps, were laid upon heaps, and so many thousands upon thousands; that all who heard thereof, behoved to observe, and say, never was there such a plague in England; and, if resolved into it's true cause, we must say, righteous art thou O Lord God in judging thus, we are worthy, for never was there such a provocation in England.

One vvoe is past, and behold another vvoe cometh quickly? An evil Spirit from the Lord, entereth into our counsels, & precipitate us into a vvar vwith the Dutch, soliciting a peace vwith us; (I forebeare to mention, the unrighteousnesse of it, vvhich vvas a greater plague upon the contrivers and actors, then all that followed upon it, though the shame and losse, will make a great total) in the beginning of this war, we were plagued with so much successe, as made us encourage our selves in this evil matter, *victrix causa diis placuit* thought we; and yet in that little seeming successe we had, any discerning person might have observed, how the hand of the Lord God of hosts, was gone forth against us; for, though our enemies did flee, yet as being deprived by the Lord, of both counsel and courage, we did not follow, vvhhen we had them, even for the taking up; so that if our effrontry make us boast, of this bout as a victory, we may, with blushing, remember the greater shame, that the Lord poured upon us, in depriving us of the Spirit of conduct, that we knew not, how to improve the advantage over a beaten enemy; so that the Lord by this successe, did seem onely to lift us up, that he might, with the greater shame, noise and observation, throw us down; and truly, whoever remembereth that action and day, may confidently affirme, that the Lord fought for Holland and against England, seing he so observably interposed as a rere-vvard: But before this Angel have done his vwork, that vve might have a nevv proof of the displeasure of the Almighty, and that he might make the World see, how he himself, and not men, did cast us down; he sendeth a fire into our chiefe City, before this war be ended, vvhether vve had burnt that Covenant; (I passe all consideration of the immediat instruments; let us give and graunt,

it was done upon designe; even this, maketh the judgement demonstrative, with a witnesse, of his wrath and indignation) and as this fire, seemed to take wings, or be carried from house to house, and street to street, by a destroying Angel; so those, who were employed to quench it, (O it's ill quenching, where he kindleth, except with teares) were deprived of all wisdome, and discretion; or rather, as if in the righteous judgement of the Lord, they had designedly set themselves to obstruct the quenching of it, and so it burnt till the bulk of the City was turned into ashes; That as the Nations abroad, had heard of our rage in burning that Covenant, so they might hear of an act of holy revenge, and be witnesses to the righteousness of his judgement, in giving us fire for fire; and as the like fury, had never been witnessed against the Lord before, so he had never kindled the like fire in the Nation before; Nay, nor almost the like in the World, since the burning of Jerusalem; and truly the parallel, between the judgements, may put us in minde of a parity, betwixt the provocations; as the crucifying of the Son of God, and putting him to an open shame, burnt the City of that bold abomination; so the crucifying of him again, in shedding the blood of his servants, and putting him to such a shame, in burning a Covenant made with him, (which is an unheard-of indignity, amongst Princes and Stats, even when after the violation of Leagues, they fall in open hostility) kindled this fire, consumed the City of our solemnities, and buried it into it's ashes.

But for all this, as we do not turn away from the evil of our way, but instead of stopping, and taking notice of the hand, that is gone forth against us, we continue in putting forth our hand to iniquity; we become more insatiable in sinning, rushing foreward in our course, as the horse doth to the battel; every bit and bridle, that's put in our mouth, is too weak to hold us; so his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still. The Angel who had drawn the sword, instead of putting it up, seemed onely to have been furbishing it, while the flame was

was consuming our City: As we were become a frowvard generation, Children in vvhom was no faith; so he continueth, in his righteousness, to heap mischiefs upon us, & to spend his arrowes upon us: We goe on with the war; now, that God, who deprived us of wisdom howv to improve our former victory, first, leaveth us in the pride and haughtinesse of our heart, to the folly and infatuation, of dividing our fleet, and then he mustereth the host of the battel that cometh against us; and so vve are foiled and put to flee, before that enemy, of vvhom vve had said, vve had no other regret, but because engaged against an enemy, unvvorthy of our spirit and courage; novv are the Dutch their prisons filled vvith English prisoners: But vvhy doe I insist? The close of the vvar, is the confusion of England, and a perfect Eclipse of it's glory, our English vvalls are broken down and burnt, vvherein the hand of him vvho judged us, vv as so visible, that the actors themselves doe not mention it otherwise, then as the doing of the Lord, vv which vv as mervellous in their eyes: Novv is our Court confounded and distracted, because the Lord, against vvhom they had sinned vvith so high a hand, made bare his holy Arm, in the sight of the nations, by fighting against them; novv is the nation, in an universal consternation: novv is London seised vvith a panick feare, to that height as it had been easy for the enemy, to have burnt the remainders of our City, that had escaped the former fire: And vvwhereas, vve vvould have a vvar, on any terms, vvith our peacable neighbours; novv vve must post avvay our order, to accept of a peace on any termes, and (vv which is remarkable) be forced to passe from those pretensions, on vv which vve had founded the equity of our vvar; thus are vve stript of our glory; and the crowvn, vv which vve had vvorn for many yeers, in the sight of the Nations, falleth from our head; (alas, that vve should have forgotten to have said, *woe unto us that we have sinned*) England vvho had upheld these Provinces, against the pride of the Spanish Tyranny, England vvho had conquered France, and

at the same time, were victorious over the Scotch their confederats, must now finde the nation perfectly besieged, by them, whom, in our pride, we thought not a people; our ships burnt, in the most secure harbours of England, and we necessitat, when under the feet of these whom we had despised, to accept of a peace; which they might have made us condescend unto upon lesse honourable termes: Which things befell us, that when the present generation shall consider, and the succeeding ages inquire, into the cause of this disaster, and aske the question, how we were so wonderfully brought down; It may be answered, because in stead of keeping the Covenant with their God, they burnt it, therefore, that they might read their sin and rage in their judgement, (or, if they would not, others might) as he had formerly burnt their City, now he burnt their ships, not in the sea, but within their harbours; and thus he called the Nations to be witnesses, to the heat of his displeasure, in burying our glory: As there was never such a sin before committed in the land, we were never thus put to shame, and spit upon, in the sight of the nations; our being made base & contemptible, in the eyes of them, who honoured us, and had us in estimation, must be refounded upon our bold sinning against the most high God; and our trampling upon his honour and interest, with such evidences of contempt, hath made us be greatly despised amongst the Nations, and caused him, against whom we had lifted up our selves, trample us under foot, as the mire of the streets: Well, we must now beare our shame, and finde our selves sunk in the gulf of ignominy, whereby the Lord was in a manner, trying us, if we would turn from the evil of our way: But, Alas, that, which was the observe of the Holy Ghost upon Ahaz, was manifestly verified upon us; so that it might have been, with the same evidence and certainty, said; this is that Court, this is that Kingdome, who being rebuked so remarkably, did, in stead of accepting the punishment of their sin, trespasse yet more and more against the Lord.

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In this interval, wherein we seemed to have tranquillity from enemies without, the plague upon our heart, is more evident, by the evil that was in our hand; vve had some quiet it's true, (vvherein he gave us space to repent, and accept of the punishment of our sins) but it vvas not so much a true peace, as the dravving back of the hand of the great God, that he might fetch the forer blow; for instead of humbling our selves under the mighty hand of God; as if vve did meditat revenge against heaven, vve not onely continued in our former unchristian practises; but, vvhat our imperial crown had lost of it's lustre, vve think to make it up, by appending the Mediator's crown to it; and therefore, though we fall before others, yet we will, as we began, continue to fight against God; and in this interval of peace from forraigne enemies; as we had burnt the bond of our subjection to Jesus Christ, so in prosecution of the same quarrel, we advance our supremacy, to the degrading and exautorating of him, by whom Kings reigne; and carry with that height of insolence, as if we had, not onely resolved, to out-do all, that ever led the way to us, in this opposition to Christ as King in Zion; but further, to give the defiance to all, that ever should come after us, to make a law, vvwhich being considered in it's most plain and obvious meaning, can, without straining, speak this more explicitly; that, *this man, this one Jesus, who calleth himself a King, shall not reigne over us, we have no King but Caesar*; we stated the question *de finibus Imperii mediatoris*, and decided in our ovvn favour, once for all; making a decree, to take the house of God in possession to our selves; yea, and as if, vve intended to eternize our enmity and opposition to the son of God; vve, together vvith the imperial crowne of the Nation, transmit a legal right to our successors, to the crowne and scepter of Jesus Christ; as if it vv ere a satisfaction for us, to lie down in the grave, vvith an assurance, that his crowne should not flourish upon his ovvn head; by vv which one act, all our former insolencies were reacted, vvith this addition;

that, vvhatsoever vve please to do in the house of the God of heaven hereafter, must be legal: And thus, the Church hath got an exotick head, and vve have filled up the measure of our iniquity: O that it might please the father of mercies, to give repentance to his Majesty & the Nation, and to preserve both from reaping that harvest of grief and desperat sorrow, vvhich such a seed-time presageth: In the mean time, the consumption, of the nation, is visible in it's countenance, it's soul and substance is consumed, (as vvvas excellently laid open in that first & second discourse of my Lord *Lucas*, before the house of Lords, in whom alone the ancient gallant spirit of the English Nation did shew it self and shine forth, & who, by that heroick act, hath erected to himself a monument, in the heart of all true English-men, & proposed himself as a worthy paterne of imitation, to all who affect the glory of being true Patriots) yet, while the Nation is in this low and languishing condition, vve are plotting and contriving a new war against the Dutch, and therefore vve pick quarrels vvith them, to give our own designs some colour of justice, having resolved upon the vvar, let them offer, what rational satisfaction they can; yet, as if the Lord, from heaven would openly rebuke these secret mischievous contrivances and works of darknesse; he in a manner giveth a commission, to that very element, the stage on which we designe to act this wickednesse, to fall upon us, sink our ships at sea, sweep away a considerable part of our remaining substance, and swallow up our Land; and as upon Pestilence, fire and sword, this had been vvritten, by the finger of the righteous judge of all the earth, *never the like before seen in England*; so of this tempest, this turnado and inundation (vvhereby the sea vvvas become difficult and dangerous for passage, in regard of broken ships, filled also vvith the sad spectacle of drowned men, driving to and fro in it, the land-overflowed, houses, beasts and men, having one common burial place) it was also said, never, did the Lord witnesse at once, so much of his displeasure



displeasure against the Nation, by any sea-storme; hereby particularly pointing at and plaguing the Kingdome, both for our breach of Covenant vvith the most High, and our former, and again resolved upon breach of Covenant vvith our neighbours, as also our foolish pretension, to an absolut dominion of the sea; to vvhich vve could set no bounds; if that by taking notice of the displeasure of the living God against our iniquous contriveances vve might be stopped in this unhappy Carreer; but all in vain, forevvard we vvill goe. And the thing that maketh the anger of the Lord, more manifest against us, and our French confederat's, in this dispensation, was, that remarkable passage of providence; vvhile much havock vvvas at the same time, made upon the French coast, aswel as upon ours, the Dutch fleet, against which we were making most fervid preparations, did ride all the time safe at anchor, as it were in the centre betwixt the two, without any lose; God thereby in a manner manifesting, that he had taken these, whom we, in designe and endeavour, had devoted to destruction, into his own immediat protection; a happy Omen; and who knoweth, but it is a speaking prognostick, of what he intendeth, further to doe for them and by them, to the frustration, and disapppointment of our projects & preparations; & how, because we would not behold the Majesty of the Lord, nor see, when his hand was lifted up, nor listen to the voice of such a dreadfully menacing disswasiue, he mindeth to make us see, and put us to shame, for our envy at his people, and cause the World take notice of it, when he maketh the fire of his enemies to devour us.

Now, my friends and brethren, my designe in this deduction, and the assignement of it's cause, is not to lodge the provocation alone with the Court, and leave it at their door, as if we were innocent, and in case to plead guiltlesse; no, for besid's that we have made it our ovvn, for not mourning as we ought, for this horrid abomination, our shareing so deeply in the punishment, pointerh at, & proverh us to be, deeply guilty in the provocation:

That we may therefore, by repentence, prevent the vvoeful day, & by remembring vvhen we have fallen, renew first love, and return to first vvorks, before he remove the Candlestick, vvhich is the terrible judgement, vvherevvith we are this day threatened; let us consider, hovv justly he may proceed, to the utmost of holy severity, and observe, vvhat of spotlesse equity, hath been manifested, in all the smoakings of his vvraath against us, in all these blovves of his hand, whereby our beauty is consumed; let us think, hovv guilty we are, for not having been stedfast in his Covenant, and for not performing our vovves to the most High, before he make a full end, and smite us so, that affliction shall not spring up the second time: As it is neither possible for me, to enumerat all those wayes, how we have made our selves guilty, of a contempt and dreadful misreguard of that Oath of God, whereby we were so expressely, so solemnly & indispensibly engaged in our severall places and stations, to walk before him to all pleasing, minding and advancing, above all earthly concerns, reformation and Religion, witnessing and shewing forth it's power, in our conversation, that, the Nation might have been called by that name, *Jehovah Shammah*, that so the reproach of Egypt (the untendernesse, I mean, and profanity, which was amongst the multitude, kept under superstitious ignorance for a great part, before our late reformation) might have been rolled away from us; nor to accent and sharpen these challenges, with their just aggravations and edge, that they may cut us at the heart, and make us cry out; men and brethren, what shall we do, to be delivered from the approaching destruction and impendent ruine, whereto, we and our posterity, for the breach of our Covenant, and backslidings, are exposed? so, I do purposely passe and forbear it; lest I should seem to exprobrat these to one party as more guiltie, while I passe by another as more innocent; but I am sure while all are charged with this guilt, every gracious heart will suspect himself, and say, *Master is it I?* And he is like to be found deepest in  
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the transgression before God, who is most ready to make light of the matter, and with a supine misregard of his own backslidings and Gods anger, dare in stead of puting his mouth in the dust as guilty before him, wipe it, and say, *What have I done?* Let us not onely witnesse our repentance by a personal reformation; but by a serious minding in our place and station, the reviving of his work: Let us set our selves to weep over the dust and stones of Zion: Let us give him no rest, till he return and build his house, and fill it with his own glorious presence, making thereby our gates salvation and our walls praise: God seemeth by all the dispensations of the day, to put us, without more debat or delay, to chuse whether we will bleed or weep? And if we be sparing of our teares, justice is like to be prodigal of our blood: If our eyes do not trickle down without intermission, at the sight of the desolations of the sanctuary, and at the danger and distresse of all the Churches of Christ, till the Lord look down and behold from Heaven, he is threatening to bring distresse upon us, that we shall walk like blind-men, both because of our sining against the Lord, and our security; and to pour out our blood as the dust and our flesh as the dung: Do we not see the Church and Nation ready to be devoured, by the fire of his jealousy? Do we not perceiue the men with the slaughter weapon in their hand? Why then do we delay to gather our selves together? Why do vve not retire within our selves, that we may return to the most High with ropes about our neck, as sentenced persons, upon the sight of the plague of our own heart, & the iniquities that are in our hand, but particularly our woeful departings from, and breaches of Covenant with our God, before the decree bring forth, before the day passe as the chaff, before the fierce Anger of the Lord come upon us? As *A none such* hath been written over the head of these judgements, which are already come; so we may certainly conclude, that *A none such*, to make the ears of all that heare it tingle, and strike their hearts with amazement and terrour,

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at the report thereof, shall be written upon the wrath and woes, that he will bring upon us for these breaches if not mourned over: If the Lord employ the *French, Irish* and *English* Papists, which stand ready girt with their sword upon their thigh, breathing out cruelty, and thirsting after blood, to be the executioners of his displeasure, for a despised Gospel, and to avenge the quarrel of a broken Covenant, and punish us, as our congregations have heard, for our impenitencies and unperswadableness by all that hath yet come upon us, so to make our prayer before the Lord our God, that we might turn from our iniquity and understand his truth; then may we conclude, that the nation shall be made a *Golgotha*, a place of dead mens skulls, and that not onely the Massacre of *Paris*, *Alva's* murther and blood-shed in the Low-Countries, the murthers and villanies committed in the valleys of *Piedmont*, with all the *Marian* bloodshed & persecution in our own nation, but even that more bloody and barbarous Massacre of *Ireland*, shall either be quit forgotten, or mentioned as light things, vvhen compared with the havocks, bloods, murthers, fire and faggot, whereby to the satiating the malice, fury, and revenge of her that must be drunk with the blood of the Saints, and to the blunting of the edge of her instrument's rage, keen to the utmost of cruelty, the land shall be laid wast and made utterly desolat: If we still sleep on, after he hath done so much to awake us, after so many voices of word and rod, after he hath been saying unto us, *Shall I not visit for these things? Shall not my soul be avenged upon such a generation as this?* Then there is no hope but that we shall be made a generation of his wrath; nor is there another expectation, but that he will accomplish his anger, and cause his fury to rest upon us, and be comforted: O for grace to awake & prevent this woeful day, before he cause darknesse, and before our feet stumble upon the dark mountains! Let us therefore while it is called to day, beware of hardning our hearts; let us consider one another, and every man himself, to provok unto the excercise of repentance, Let us think on our backslidings,

ings, and breaches of Covenant, that we may return unto the Lord our God, before he cause his anger to fall upon us: Let us hast while there is a *maybe* of hope, while there is yet a, *who knoweth, if the Lord will return, and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger, and think upon the Church, the Nation, our selves and posterity, that we perish not.*

The last thing wherewith I shall shut up this discourse, is, to remind you my brethren, of what I formerly hinted, viz: That from the consideration of the manifest unrighteousnesse of this war, not so much against the Dutch, as against the Lord God, in concurring with, and assisting the sworn enemies of the reformed Religion; yea and against our selves, our liberties, and our posterity, by strengthening the hands of the most Stated adversary in the world to the prosperity of the English nation, we may not onely be humbled, that our Court should be left of the Lord to these wicked contrivances, Religion and liberty-destroying courses, and that so many of our brethren, should be dragged as slaves, to assist in this Religion-overturning Covenant-breaking war; but, that as we would not by an association with the workers of these iniquities, and a participation in their sin, share in the remarkable punishments, and terrible plagues, whereby the righteous Lord will certainly be avenged, for this breach of faith and Alliance, for this conspiracy against the reformed Religion; so, we would withdraw and flee from, if we would not fall into the hands of a provoked God, all concurrence in carrying on this war, directly or indirectly; Neither let us think to please God, or be approved of him, if we acquiesce in a simple forbearance, to contribute our assistance thereto; nay somewhat else then such a neutrality is called for, in a day, when, all things being considered, there seemeth to be the most formally pitched Battel, between Christ and Anti-Christ, that hath been in many generations: We are called under the hazard of being reput and reckoned enemies to Christ and his cause (for when he is crying so formally at this time, *who is on my side*

who? All that are not with him shall be esteemed enemies unto him) while some of our brethren in the simplicity of their heart, not knowing any thing, are insnared and seduced into this quarrel, and moe are deprived of their liberty, dragged as slaves, and pressed to go fight, and sacrifice their lives to the Court, and French interest, in prejudice of all these precious things and interests, which make life desirable, and in the preservation whereof, it is glory to die: I say while it is thus, we are called to pour out our hearts together and apart on the behalfe of our distressed, shamefully by us deserted, yea betrayed Protestant brethren, that the Lord God of hosts, would make bare his strong Arm and stand up for their help: We are not onely debtors to them, when we can contribut nothing else to their assistance, while they must jeopard their lives, in contending against the mighty enemies of the Lord and his People, for all the supply and help we can make them, by our assiduous and most importune beggings and beseechings of God, for their safety and preservation, upon the account of the reformed Religion, vvhich, if they be soiled and put to the worse, must also fall with them, as to it's visible profession; but also upon the account of the true liberty and reall interest of England; let the things already mentioned, to demonstrat this, upon our supposed successe against them, be considered, and it will make the matter so evident, that I am sure, as he cannot be a Christian or one who wisheth the preservation of the Church, and coming of the Kingdome of the Son of God in the World, since there hath not been for many ages, a People, whose civil interest was so twisted and enterwoven, with the great interest of Christ through the earth, in opposition to Antichrist; so I am upon rational grounds perswaded, that he cannot have the heart of a true English-man, he cannot be a true lover of the real good, liberty and honour of our Nation, who doth not wish well unto, and is not earnestly solicitous for the safety of the United provinces in this juncture: Alas! Shall our brethren the  
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Dutch, goe down into the valley to fight with the enemy, and be engaged, not onely upon the account of their own liberty, their civil interests, and the reformed Religion; but also most evidently by an undeniable consequence, for the liberty of England, and the preservation of the same things amongst us? And will not we goe up to the mount, & weep upon God to stand by them? Shall they shed their blood by sea and land, for that truth and doctrine, which is according to godlinesse, that should be deare to us beyond and above our lives? And shall not we offer them the assistance, of our utmost intercessions? What could we say to God? Or how could we satisfy our own conscience, in so cleare and crying an exigent, if we should, as nothing concerned in the quarrel, or it's consequences, forbear to do this? How will we make it appeare, that we prefer Jerusalem to our chief joy, and are lovers of righteousness, on whose side soever it is found, or are really desirous to do all that is in our power, to prevent the bondage of the nation, and preserve our selves and our posterity, from being sold slaves to forraigne enemies and the exorbitant lust of our own Court, if now, when there is no other work for us to do, we make it not our work, to lift up our heart with our hands unto God in the heavens, praying and pleading by all manner of prayer and supplication, either to reclaime our rulers, from these unrighteous and violent courses; or to preserve our oppressed brethren, and appeare their protector, when deserted of all humane help? We would take heed how we lay our selves aside from this innocent and Christian concurrence. I doubt nothing but as the Lord will write in most legible Characters, and witness either sooner or later, high and hote displeasure, against all the contrivers of this war, and willing-contributers of their assistance to it, and reckon them, vvho, if it vv ere but by their vvords and vvishes, vvitness their concurrence, and shevv themselves enemies to our oppressed protestant friends, though they neither be guilty of that theiving basensse of caping, or a more formal conjunction

tion this abominable war, adversaries to the reformed Religion, through the World, and enemies to all righteousness amongst men; so, I am equally perswaded, they shall make themselves guilty of a detestable neutrality, and incur the curse of not helping the Lord against the mighty, vvho do not implore his Aid for our oppressed brethren, and stirre not up themselves to pray, that he would appeare to plead a cause that is so much his own: Let not the vain fancy of affection to the honour of the Nation, when to the height of baseness engaged in a vvar, or lothness to see our countrey-men put to shame, even vvhen it is impossible to appeare in this engagement and cover our shame, demurre or foreflovv us in this duety: It's true, our Nation ought to be deare untous, the lives and honour of our countrey-men precious in our sight; but we should be so much Protestants, so much Christians, as to acquiesce rather, that vve, our posterity, our name, and Nation should be delete & perish from under the heavens of the Lord, before the reformed Religion, that great interest of Christ in the World, by our successe be destroyed, or his declarative glory suffer an eclipse. Nay let us consult either reason or Religion, and then, the thing which seemeth to demurre or dissvvade, will certainly drive us to the duety that is pressed: Let us love our Lord Jesus Christ so well, let us love the honour, prosperity and welfare of our Nation so well, let us love the reput and renown of our countrey-men so well, as to pray, that his Kingdome may come, and that the designs of these who in this engagement, are engaged against us, and our precious interests, may be defeat, and that their hands may not be able to performe their enterprise, and there is no more driven at or desired; for, if the sword that is now drawn against the Dutch, return victorious and drunk with their blood, it will not be put up, till the yoke be wreathed about our neck, and it have shed the blood of such, who are not so much beasts, as with a tameness to take it on; and if we be deprived of, and out-live the lose of our onely treasure, Religion  
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and liberty, where then is the blessedness we spoke of? Where then is the glory of our nation whereof we boasted? Happy is the man, who knoweth the times, and what Israel hath to do, while it is the plague of many, that they are as asses couching under the burden: Once for all, let us feare, and stand aloof from, yea in our place and station withstand, all these sinful combinations with such, as have turned aside unto their crooked wayes, and designe and endeavour vvith so much vigour, the overturning of his vvork, lest God lead us forth vvith the vvorkers of Iniquity: It's true, he must have a Church, and his interest must be preserved; for the gates of hell cannot prevail against it; yet if vve either join vvith these confederats against him, or forbear to witnesse our desire of his abiding with us, by pleading with him, for the preservation of his low, his abandoned, born down, yea and betrayed interests; deliverance shall come another way, for he is the God of salvations, against whom in this conjunction, we have lifted up the head and stretched out the hand; but we, our interest, and whatsoever is deare and desirable to men, shall be destroyed and perish: But my brethren, as I hope for better things of you, yea for all things, vvhich may prove you to be lovers of our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, of the Churches abroad and of our Nation's interest, honour and liberty, though I thus speak; so, I desire to beleeeve, that not onely that poor people against whom our Court, with the French are engaged (the second part of Herod and Pilate's History) shall be preserved, though they may be brought low; but that the destruction of the poor remnant amongst our selves, vvhich (that the actors may at once take away Religion and liberty together with our lives) is intended, shall be prevented; for strong is the Lord God who judgeth the enemies of his people and pleadeth the causes of their soul: Let us therefore wait on him, and continue with him in these tentations, carrying in the duties of the present day, and amidst all the dangers which accompany, a faithful acquit-

ing of our selves in our Masters service, as knowing, that the adversaries of the Lord shall be broken in pieces, out of heaven shall he thunder upon them: The Lord shall judge the ends of the earth, he shall give strength unto his King (the coming of whose Kingdome, is now so much opposed by these Kings, and destruction of whose subjects and people, is so manifestly designed and furiously driven by them) and exalt the horne of his anointed, when he hath provided carpenters, to fray the horns of these, who rejoyce in a thing of nought, and have taken unto them horns, by their own strength, to push the inheritance of the Lord: *Faxit Deus et festinet*, and then we have the desire of our hearts.

## F I N I S.

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**R**Eader, though thou mayest sometime finde in perusing this paper, a Letter redundant, as ane for an, or it may be the same Letter twice, or a letter wanting, as of for off, left, for least, or one letter sometime for another, as these for whose, which will not make thee misse the sense, yet these few small following lapses thou mayest thus correct. P. 13. l. 16. ingenuoulnesse. r. ingeniousnesse. P. 16. l. 19. sea. r. See P. 34. l. 7. do insist. r. do I insist. P. 67. l. 14. subjects. r. subiects. P. 69. l. 9. phohibit. r. prohibis. P. 70. l. ult. bebate. r. debate. P. 77. l. 33. del. of. ibid. l. 34. Alter. r. Altar. P. 84. l. 21. priciples. r. principles. P. 96. l. ult. furbishing. r. fourbishing. P. 102. l. 2. remembring. r. remembering. P. 108. l. 2. conjunction this. r. conjunction in this

